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RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GUATEMALA DURING THE EPOCH OF JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS

Relations between the United States and Guatemala were intimate during the fourteen years following the seizure of the Guatemalan government by Miguel García Granados and Justo Rufino Barrios in 1871. These two leaders owed the success of their thrust for power in considerable measure to Remington and Winchester rifles imported from the United States1 and therefore had good reason from the outset to appreciate the technological achievements of their Anglo-Saxon neighbor. Barrios promptly began to admire the skill, energy, and industry of the United States. His attitude toward the North Americans, as he called them, soon became one of cordial esteem. He was eager for their collaboration in the modernization of Guatemala. He wished also to obtain their aid in settling a boundary dispute with Mexico and for his cherished plan to weld the five republics of Central America into a single nation.

Barrios was not a man who expected favors for nothing. He assumed that reciprocity would be required. He expected to win the support of the United States by giving assistance in the acquisition of naval bases and a canal route and by offering North Americans profitable opportunities for investing their money and talents in Guatemala.

¹ Casimiro D. Rubio, General Justo Rufino Barrios (Guatemala City, 1935), p. 81; Víctor Miguel Díaz, Bronses patrios; Barrios ante la posteridad (Guatemala City, 1935), p. 49; Paul Burgess, Justo Rufino Barrios (Philadelphia, 1926), pp. 69-72.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the strategic aspect of these relationships. Barrios offered to cede Ocos Bay on the Pacific coast of Guatemala to the United States for a naval base. He also revealed a disposition to lend his aid in effecting the acquisition by the United States of the Bay Islands from Honduras and a canal concession from Nicaragua. That part of the story is fairly well known.² The primary purpose of this article is to deal with a neglected phase of the subject and to present a summary of the important economic relations of the two countries during the Barrios period.

The inventions of technology began to flow from the United States into some parts of Latin America before the middle of the nineteenth century. By the 1870's and 1880's the stream had expanded. It was flowing not merely into Mexico; it had reached Guatemala and the countries beyond. No large sums of North American capital were involved, for a surplus had not yet accumulated. The investment was mainly one of skill in technology and business management.

When García Granados and Barrios took charge of the Guatemalan government early in 1871, Guatemala had no railways, no steamboats on its lakes and rivers, no plumbing installations, little agricultural machinery, no barbed-wire fences, no telegraphs, and of course no telephones or electric lights, because electric lights and telephones had not been invented. When Barrios was killed on the field of battle in April, 1885, all these technological devices had been introduced through his efforts and those of his Guatemalan colleagues with the help of foreigners and especially North Americans.

Minor activities and contributions of citizens of the United States may be dismissed with a few sentences. A physician from the United States had charge of the army hospital in Guatemala City.³ A police expert from New York assisted in the training and reorganization of the Guatemalan police

² J. Fred Rippy, "Justo Rufino Barrios and the Nicaraguan Canal," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (May, 1940), 190-197; Cornelius A. Logan to James G. Blaine, No. 183, Guatemala City, May 27, 1881, Despatches, Central America, Vol. 17 (National Archives, State Department).

^a Díaz, op. cit., p. 371.

force.4 Captain V. S. Storm, aided by a special tariff concession, labored energetically to introduce barbed-wire fence. He also imported machinery for the coffee, rice, and sugarcane industries as well as other modern farming implements.5 Captain Robert Cleves established in Guatemala a model diversified farm, importing from the United States such recent inventions as gang-plows, planters, cultivators, reapers, mowers, threshers and such animals as Jersev cows, Merino sheep, and Berkshire hogs.6 The animals were brought from California, where Rollin P. Saxe was busily engaged in persuading Guatemalan visitors to introduce into their country the best breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowls.7 W. J. Forsyth was granted a subsidy by Barrios for assisting in the importation and cultivation of quinine trees.8 Doctor John Protherve of California was given land for an ostrich farm and a reward of 250 pesos for each ostrich introduced.9 Engineers from the United States were employed in surveying the boundary between Guatemala and Mexico.10

In the field of public utilities citizens of the United States made significant contributions. This was emphatically true in the case of railway construction.

The first line of telegraph was built in Guatemala in 1873. It connected Guatemala City with the Pacific port of San José, passing through a number of intervening towns on the way.¹¹ By 1882 Guatemala had more than twelve hundred miles of telegraph wire and over sixty offices.¹² Although

^{*} Ibid., p. 382; Rubio, op. cit., p. 405; Burgess, op. cit., p. 201.

⁶ Leyes emitadas por el gobierno democrático de la República de Guatemala (4 vols., Guatemala City, 1881-1886), III, 14. Hereafter cited as Leyes. See also House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial No. 2392), p. 199. This government document contains reports of the commission sent by the United States to Central and South America in 1884-1885 to investigate trade conditions. Another report, which will be cited below, was published as House Executive Document, No. 226, 48 Cong., 2 Sess. (Serial No. 2304). Storm appeared before this commission when it arrived in Guatemala City.

^{*} House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 215-216.

⁷ Ibid., No. 226, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 330; Díaz, op. cit., 314-315.

^{*} Leyes, III, 379-380, IV, 179-180.

⁹ Ibid., IV, 16-17.

¹¹ J. Méndez, Guía del inmigrante en la República de Guatemala (Guatemala City, 1895), p. 64.

¹² Díaz, op. cit., p. 242.

Stanley McNider, who is said to have been a Canadian, is entitled to more credit for the system than any other for-eigner, a good deal of the mileage was constructed by experts from the United States in connection with the railways. By the early 1880's Guatemala had the benefit of a cable connection with the outside world through the port of Libertad, El Salvador. This connection was provided by the Central and South American Telegraph Company, a corporation located in the United States. By virtue of an agreement signed with Jacob A. Scrymser, the president of this company, on January 13, 1880, Barrios obtained a voice in the fixing of rates in return for the use of Guatemala's territorial waters. 14

Citizens of the United States played an important part in the modernization of Guatemala City. Californians installed a system of street lighting in 1879, using naphtha gas; but the system was unsatisfactory and their contract was revoked in 1881. Electric lights were installed in 1884-1885 by Guatemalans in collaboration with foreign experts. The leading spirit in this enterprise was a Polish engineer named Piatkowski, who may have been a naturalized citizen of the United States. The telephone system was established in 1885 by a company composed of Guatemalans and Californians. Barrios granted the concession to Roderico Toledo and other Guatemalans. The manager of the company was J. D. Tracy. The street railways were constructed by J. B. Bunting and D. P. Fenner, citizens of the United States, under a contract dated August 6, 1878. The horsecars began to move in Oc-

¹³ Ibid.; Leyes, III, 16-17, 45-50.

¹⁴ Leyes, II, 425-429, for a copy of the Scrymser contract.

¹⁵ Correspondence regarding the operations and difficulties of this gas company will be found in the National Archives of the United States, Archive of the State Department, Despatches from Central America, Vols. 17, 18, 19, 27, and 32. See especially Logan to Blaine, No. 167, April 2, 1881, No. 170, April 18, 1881, and No. 219, Aug. 2, 1881. For the final terms of settlement with the company, see Mizner to Blaine, No. 71, Feb. 2, 1890.

¹⁶ Consult Leyes, III, 374-376, IV, 163-164, for the contract and an extension of the time limit for installing the system.

¹⁷ Ibid., IV, 241-242, 309, 367-369.

¹⁸ For the original contract and the early relations between the Guatemalan government and this street railway company, see *Leyes*, III, 12-13, 42-43 and IV, 6-7, 131, 167-168, 181, 620-621. *Leyes*, II, 468, give Aug. 6, 1879, as the

tober, 1882, and by March 1, 1885, the system embraced nearly five miles of trackage. Under a contract signed on July 12, 1883, Roderico Toledo assumed responsibility for improving the waterworks of the Guatemalan capital city and installing a sewer system. It is likely that he organized a company consisting of foreigners as well as nationals and employed North American experts. Toledo had intimate contacts with California, which he visited frequently, and since he had associated Californians with himself and other Guatemalans in the telephone company, it seems logical that he should also have employed Californians in connection with this new system of water supply and sewerage. 1

Construction engineers from the United States had charge of all railway building in Guatemala during the whole of the Barrios epoch. Hardly more than a hundred miles of railroad were in operation at the time of the dictator's death; but railway construction in Guatemala was not an easy task, and well over four hundred additional miles were projected. Although the first contracts were signed in the early 1870's, construction did not begin until 1878.

The first Guatemalan railway opened to traffic was a short line of approximately twenty-six miles between San José and Escuintla. It was built under a contract signed with William Nanne on April 7, 1877, and was completed in June, 1880. The enterprise was given a government guaranty of a net return of fifteen per cent annually on a million pesos; but in consideration for government advances for construction this guaranty was surrendered in 1880. The railway was owned and operated by a corporation organized by Nanne in California: the Guatemala Central Railway Company.²²

date of the first contract; but the copy of this contract published in Leyes, IV, 620-621, is dated Aug. 6, 1878.

¹⁰ Díaz, op. cit., p. 404; Rubio, op. cit., p. 545.

²⁰ Leyes, IV, 8-10, 233-236.

²¹ Díaz, op. cit., pp. 243-244; House Executive Document, No. 226, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 320. Toledo appeared before the Central and South American Commission during its sessions at San Francisco.

³² Consult Leyes, II, 481-482, 544-548, for the original contract at its modification. Here the name of the railroad is given and the statement that the line was opened to traffic on June 18, 1880, will be found on page 482.

The ultimate objective of this railway was Guatemala City, some forty-six miles beyond Escuintla; and on July 13, 1880, William Nanne and Lewis Schlessinger signed a contract to build this line. Guatemala agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 125,000 pesos for twenty-five years and to advance half a million pesos at once in treasury certificates. A grant of 1,500 caballerías (a Guatemalan caballería was at that time, at least, the equivalent of nearly 112 acres) of public lands was also included. The surveys already had been made by Albert J. Scherzer, a citizen of the United States, and the railway was virtually completed four years later. At any rate, the first train made the run from San José to Guatemala City in July, 1884, with Barrios on board.²³ In the meantime, the two lines, some seventy-two miles in length, had been consolidated under a single corporation, the Central American Pacific Railway and Transportation Company. This seems to have been a New York corporation; but it was largely owned by Archer P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, and Charles Crocker, who were noted for the construction of the western portions of the Central and Southern Pacific Railways of the United States.24 The use of the word transportation in the company's name probably forecast steamboat aspirations. On July 7, 1884, the corporation obtained from Guatemala a contract for placing a steamboat on Lake Amatitlán and the erection of a hotel on the borders of the lake.25

Before the first steam locomotive puffed into Guatemala City to the excitement and rejoicing of the residents, another short railway had been constructed by engineers of the United

²⁵ Leyes, II, 482-488; Díaz, op. cit., pp. 459-465; Rubio, op. cit., pp. 506-507. The train arrived in the capital on July 19, Barrios's birthday. The event was followed by a week of celebration. The festivities are described by Rubio and Díaz. There were banquets, abundant wine, oratory, poems, and music.

²⁴ Leyes, III, 223; House Executive Document, No. 226, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 333.

²⁵ Leyes, IV, 225-226.

Already Barrios had granted concessions for the placing of steamboats on the Polochic and Motagua rivers in eastern Guatemala. A contract for operating steamers on the Polochic was obtained by J. F. Anderson and William Owen on March 11, 1881, and they had a steamer on this river by 1882 (Leyes, II, 528-529). The contract for placing steamboats on the Motagua was ceded to William Weber on Oct. 4, 1882 (ibid., III, 267-268). See also Díaz, op. cit., p. 418.

States in Guatemala. It was a road some twenty-seven miles long between the Pacific port of Champerico and the rich coffee region around Retalhuleu. On March 12, 1881, J. H. Lyman, D. P. Fenner, and J. B. Bunting obtained a contract to build this railway. The Barrios government agreed to pay a subsidy of 700,000 pesos and to grant the contractors a thousand caballerías of public lands to be chosen anywhere in the country. The line was finished and opened to traffic on July 4, 1883. It was built by Thomas Bell of Falker, Bell & Company, located in San Francisco, California, and Sanford Robinson was a prominent member of the company. The railroad was owned and managed by the Champerico and Northern Transportation Company, a California corporation.²⁶

What appeared at the time to be a far more important railway enterprise than any hitherto undertaken in Guatemala was envisaged in a contract signed by Barrios with Ulysses S. Grant on October 6, 1882, while the Guatemalan chief executive was in the United States. Grant and his associates already had secured a railway concession from the Mexican government, and the purpose of this Guatemalan contract was to obtain an extension across Central America. Grant agreed to construct 250 miles of railroad in Guatemala within two and a half years from the time his Mexican line reached the Guatemalan frontier; but the severe financial reverses soon encountered by the Civil War General resulted in failure to carry out his railway enterprises.²⁷

A rail connection between Guatemala City and Guatemala's Caribbean coast was a project dear to the heart of Barrios. He had initiated plans for such a railway as early as 1880 and had tried in vain to raise a loan in France.²⁸ Later he levied a head tax on nearly every adult male in Guatemala and collected sufficient funds to pay a railway commission, make surveys, and begin construction.²⁹ Sylvanus Miller, a North

²⁶ Leyes, II, 538-542, IV, 94, 98-99; Burgess, op. cit., p. 226; Rubio, op. cit., pp. 540-541; House Executive Document, No. 226, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 333.

²⁷ See Leyes, III, 268-271, for the contract; Burgess, op. cit., pp. 213-214, gives a full summary of its terms.

²⁸ Leyes, II, 516-522, III, 208.

²⁹ Ibid., IV, 18-77, contains the various decrees issued in preparation for the

American, headed the corps of engineers which surveyed the route. 80 In 1884 Barrios approved two contracts for building the main line and its branches, the total length of the railroad being estimated at some 240 miles. The first contract was signed on May 1, 1884, with Tully R. Cornick, who represented the construction firm of Shea, Cornick & Company of Knoxville, Tennessee. This company agreed to build a pier at Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean and to construct sixty-two miles of track starting from that port, which recently had been named in honor of the Guatemalan dictator. The contractors were to receive 30,000 pesos in cash for each mile constructed and accepted by the Barrios government. Seven days later a contract was signed with J. H. Lyman and J. B. Gordon of New York, who assumed responsibility for building the entire railroad, including the part already assigned to the Tennessee construction company and payment of this company for their work. Lyman and Gordon were to receive 50,000 pesos in Guatemalan bonds for each mile of railway constructed in connection with the entire enterprise. They were also granted 2,500 caballerías of public lands, which were to be selected when the railway was finished and accepted by the Guatemalan government; and they agreed to complete the main line and its branches by June 30, 1888.31

Lyman and Gordon also obtained a contract on May 12, 1884, to build a railroad from Cobán to the head of navigation on the Polochic River in northeastern Guatemala.³² They failed, however, to fulfill the terms of their contracts and both were forfeited early the following year. In fact, Lyman and Gordon did not even begin construction on either railway, although they are said to have organized in New Jersey a corporation called the Guatemala Northern Railway Company.³³ Shea, Cornick & Company began work soon after

construction of this railway. The archbishop of Guatemala even issued a pastoral letter urging contributions to the project (Díaz, op. cit., p. 466).

so Ibid., IV, 66, 73; House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 210. Miller was interviewed by the Central and South American Commission while it was in Guatemala City.

⁵¹ Leyes, IV, 181-188, 191-197.
⁵² Ibid., IV, 197-199.

⁸⁸ Ibid., IV, 317-318, 324-325; Rubio, op. cit., pp. 541-542; House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 209, 210-211.

they obtained their contract; but war between Guatemala and El Salvador, the death of Barrios, and shortage of funds interrupted their operations in twelve months or so.³⁴

Railway construction in that part of Guatemala was extraordinarily difficult. Heavy rains, swamps, and matted jungle were encountered. The laborers introduced from New Orleans and other parts of the United States by Shea, Cornick & Company were soon exhausted by humid heat and tropical fevers. The authorities at Washington sent a government vessel to Puerto Barrios in the spring of 1885 to bring some of the victims back home. Many others were buried in Guatemala; some found employment in the plantations along the Caribbean coast.³⁵ The Guatemala Northern Railway was not completed until 1908.³⁶

Barrios granted a number of mining concessions to North Americans. The streams and hills of northeastern Guatemala contained considerable quantities of gold. William Friedman received two concessions, one on May 31, 1881, and another in the same month of the following year. Thomas J. Potts and John W. Knight received a similar concession on July 30, 1883. Both covered placer-mining districts in the department of Izabal.³⁷

Barrios was eager to attract immigrants in order to place under cultivation vast stretches of rich but undeveloped lands. He preferred to attract them from the United States. He offered a bonus of some thirty acres to laborers on the Northern Railway³⁸ and made at least a few colonization grants to North Americans. On September 26, 1882, Dr. Byron H.

³⁴ Leyes, IV, 345, 473-476. This construction company continued to work intermittently from May, 1844, until the end of July, 1885, when its contract was revoked.

Brigham, Guatemala (London, 1887), pp. 60-63. Brigham visited Puerto Barrios in March, 1885, and noted the slow progress being made, some of the difficulties confronted, and the misfortunes of the workmen. At that time six miles had been graded and four miles of track had been laid on the eastern end of the road. Some grading also had been done on the western end of the sixty-two-mile stretch included in the Shea, Cornick contract.

³⁶ Chester Lloyd Jones, Guatemala, Past and Present (Minneapolis, 1940), p. 253.

Kilbourn of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was ceded 1,800 hectáreas (some 4,500 acres) in the department of Izabal on condition that sufficient settlers be introduced within five years to bring half of the tract under cultivation. On June 21, 1883, F. F. Millen was granted 225 hectáreas for every hundred adult immigrants he might introduce from abroad, each immigrant to receive from the Guatemalan government a farm of fortyfive hectáreas. On December 7, 1882, Charles W. Luck, representing the Tropical Products Company of Boston, purchased a tract of 2,000 hectáreas at sixty cents a hectárea, to which he added on December 17, 1883, another block of 3,000 hectáreas bought at the same price; and it was reported in 1885 that the Andes Agricultural Company had acquired 250,000 acres. All these lands were located in the departments of Izabal. Livingston, or Alta Vera Paz. 39 Comparatively few settlers arrived during the Barrios period; but the foundations of the future thriving banana industry in eastern Guatemala were laid at this time.40

On the whole, the relations between Barrios and citizens of the United States were mutually satisfactory. The Guatemalan government raised complaints regarding accidents on the railway between San José and Guatemala City and with reference to failure of the trains to conform to their schedules;41 but the building and management of the Champerico and Northern did not provoke any criticism and no difficulties were encountered with reference to the fixing of rates on either road. The nullification of the Lyman and Gordon concessions was in strict accord with the terms of the contracts. Shea, Cornick & Company suffered from delay in the payment of their accounts; but an apparently fair and honorable settlement was soon effected.42 The California company which undertook to light the streets and plazas of Guatemala City with gas lost both its contract and its property; but

³⁰ Ibid., III, 265-266, 339-340, 407-409, IV, 105-106, 391; House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 212.

⁴⁰ United States Consular Reports, Vol. 27 (1888), 417-427.

⁴¹ See the letter of Francisco Lainfiesta, minister of Fomento, to A. J. Finlay, manager of the railway, October 29, 1884, Leyes, IV, 254-256.

⁴² Ibid., IV, 473-476, 565-566. This settlement was finally effected in November, 1885, several months after the death of Barrios.

compensation was finally paid in 1890.⁴³ Citizens of the United States usually expressed admiration for Barrios⁴⁴ and Barrios never ceased to appreciate and admire the efficiency and drive of North Americans. Shortly before his death he proclaimed his confidence in the United States and declared his conviction that closer contacts between the people of the two nations would prove beneficial in every way for Guatemala.⁴⁵ Relations between the United States and Guatemala during the Barrios epoch were conducted for the most part in the spirit of the good neighbor, and they seem to have contributed to the welfare of both countries.

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"The United States commissioners to Central and South America wrote of Barrios early in 1885: "There is no public man in Central and South America with more progressive ideas or more ardent ambition for the advancement of his countrymen." The members of the commission dwelt on the economic and educational progress which Guatemala had made during the last decade, and mentioned with approval the recent arrival of a Presbyterian missionary (House Executive Document, No. 50, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 185-186). Robert Cleves hoped the commission would give the Guatemalan ruler "a good name," for Barrios deserved it. "The opinion I have given," said Cleves, "is that of all the Americans I am acquainted with . . ." (ibid., pp. 216-217).

The name of the Presbyterian missionary who is said to have accompanied Barrios on the latter's return from the United States late in 1882 was John J. Hill. Barrios later sent his children to the mission school, thus revealing his appreciation for North American educators. (Burgess, op. cit., pp. 214-216; William Eleroy Curtis, The Capitals of Spanish America, New York, 1888, pp. 84-86.) Curtis was a member of the commission sent to Central and South America in 1884-1885.

⁴⁵ Díaz, op. cit., pp. 471-474. Barrios expressed these sentiments in letters of June, 1884, written to the chief executives of three of the Central American republics.

⁴³ See note 15.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN MEXICO 1520-1600*

An appalling mortality among the Indian populations marked the first century of Spanish colonization in Mexico. The sources are unanimous about the fact. Even the hyperbolic statements of interested parties could only suggest a reality that defied any exhaustive statistical approach.2 Measurement and tabulation were incapable of keeping pace with the successive population disasters that struck New Spain, New Galicia, and the other territories of what is today the republic of Mexico. The diction of the historians of the time is replete with allusions to calamity; Toribio Motolinia, for instance, enlarged upon the ten various "plagues" that had beset the affairs of the colony: 3 Jerónimo de Mendieta dedicated an entire chapter to the problem of population loss,4 and Domingo de Betanzos, the eminent Dominican missionary, prophesied the total extinction of the Indian race⁵ if the disasters continued without abatement.

On the other hand it is clear that, during these troubled years of the sixteenth century, a great colonial state was brought into being, with its administrative and spiritual center in Mexico. The foundation of hundreds of new urban settlements took place.⁶ A stable and highly productive colonial economy was established. Many specialized institu-

* The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies, for the travel grant awarded in 1941, when the material for this paper was collected.

¹ The only systematic study of the sources for the sixteenth century is found in the work by Robert Ricard, La "Conquête" spirituelle du Mexique (Paris, 1933), pp. 1-22.

² Jerónimo López wrote to Prince Philip on September 10, 1545, to the effect that 400,000 Indians had been stricken by epidemic disease in seven months within ten leagues of Mexico City alone. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, compiler, Epistolario de Nueva España 1505-1818 (Mexico, 1939), IV, 232.

³ Luis García Pimentel, ed., Memoriales de fray Toribio de Motolinia (Mexico, 1903), pp. 24 et seq.

'Jerónimo de Mendieta, Historia eclesiástica indiana (ed. J. García Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1870), Book IV, Chap. 36.

⁵ Agustín Dávila Padilla, Historia de la fundación . . . de la provincia de Santiago de Mexico (2nd ed., Madrid, 1625), p. 100.

⁶ George Kubler, "Mexican Urbanism in the Sixteenth Century," Art Bulletin, XXIV (1942), 160-171.

tions came into being,⁷ and the tangible economic returns from the colony soared to a peak at the end of the century.⁸ In other words, more and more of the equipment of civilization was being produced among a race that simultaneously underwent a diminution of numbers rarely equalled in the history of mankind. It is an anomalous situation. If Mexico were as thinly peopled at the time of the Conquest as recent studies would indicate,⁹ how may the fact of severe losses of population be made to agree with the simultaneous phenomenon of a vigorous colonial culture?

To suggest the relation, then, of a declining population to the formation of the colonial modus vivendi will be the final object of this essay. In the process we shall try to synthesize the available information regarding the extent of the loss of population in the sixteenth century. That information itself is highly problematic, contained in documents of questionable date and uncertain authorship. The method used for evaluating such documents will require a fairly long exposition. At the outset, it may be said that this method is not suitable for determining total populations, either of any part or the whole of Mexico. The available sources can be made to reveal only the movements of population during the sixteenth century, as regards relative density at different points in time, both for the whole area and its constituent parts.¹⁰

⁷ Lesley Byrd Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley, 1929); "Studies in the administration of the Indians in New Spain," Ibero-americana, VII (1934); XIII (1938).

^{*} Roland Denis Hussey, "Colonial economic life," Colonial Hispanic America (Washington, 1936), pp. 308-309. The net proceeds from Spanish exploitation of the New World rose to 7,000,000 pesos annually between 1590 and 1600, and fell back to 1,000,000 pesos by 1651.

A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (Berkeley, 1939), pp. 150-151. The cultivable land of Mexico was capable of yielding maize and beans for the support of 10,000,000 persons, a figure which Kroeber wishes to reduce by 4/5 for antiquity. Contrast Paul Rivet, in Meillet and Cohen, Les Langues du Monde (Paris, 1924), pp. 599-602, who gives Mexico 4,500,000 inhabitants in 1492. See also H. J. Spinden, "The Population of Ancient America," Smithsonian Institution Annual Reports (1929), pp. 451-471; Karl Sapper, "Die Zahl und Volksdichte der indianischen Bevölkerung in Amerika vor der Conquista und in der Gegenwart," International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings, XXI (1924), 95-104.

^{10 &}quot;It is the rate of change in a population during a dynamic process in time

Two separate approaches to the statistical problem were made. The first was to collect and compare taxation lists where other figures were not available.11 The second was to use actual population figures as given at various times during the century. Of these approaches the first, through taxation lists, proved fruitless for the purpose of determining population changes. The attempt, however, was made necessary by the fact that no compendious figures of any kind other than for taxation survive from the first twenty-five years after the conquest of Mexico. Thus the earliest known list suggesting the relative size of various towns at a given point in time is the tax roll compiled in 1536.12 It reports the amounts of tribute exacted from towns and districts subject (a) to the Spanish crown, and (b) to the estate of the Marqués del Valle, Hernán Cortés. It is apparent, however, that at this time no rational standard of taxation existed, for in slightly later tax lists, compiled after the great plague of 1545, the tribute rates were generally increased rather than moderated.¹³ This took place notwithstanding the cedula issued by Charles V in 1546, temporarily releasing Indians from tribute.¹⁴ No real alleviation in the tax burden upon individual towns was effected until well after 1550. The situation was concisely

and not the quantities at any particular point in time which are of importance." Gunnar Myrdal, Population, A Problem for Democracy (Cambridge, 1940), p. 130.

¹¹ See Rafael García Granados, "Capillas de indios en Nueva España (1530-1605)," Archivo español de arte y arqueología, XXXI (1935), 3.

¹⁸ (Tributos de los indios de la Nueva España," Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, VII (1936), 185-226. This report was probably compiled from individual returns such as that submitted by Juan de Burgos, for Tepeapulco, on February 17, 1536, and published in Epistolario, III, 184.

¹⁸ In 1536 the Province of Chalco, in the Valley of Mexico, belonging to Cortés, was taxed at the rate of 7,200 bushels of corn yearly. Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, VII (1936), 221. Later, after the province had become Crown property, and after the plague of 1545, the same province, with a smaller population, was taxed 8,000 bushels, in addition to the board of the corregidor (Papeles de Nueva España, Madrid, 1905, I, 105). In Coatepec, the community was taxed in kind to the value of 270 pesos in 1536, Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, VII (1936), 196. Later, in 1545, it paid tribute to the amount of 510 pesos. Epistolario, VIII, 149.

¹⁴ Vasco de Puga, Cedulario . . . desde el año de 1525 hasta este presente de 63 (2nd ed., Mexico, 1878-1879), I, 478-479.

described by Alonso de Zorita in his capacity as Auditor for New Spain. Zorita had been requested to prepare an extensive report upon taxation problems, and he made it clear that in his day, tribute bore no relation whatever to Indian capacity, that fraudulent assessments were the rule, and that the Audiencia was incapable of just taxation with the information at its disposal.¹⁵

However inhumane the effects of an inconsistent taxation may have been, the policy must not be interpreted solely as a manifestation of European extortion. Although the towns had lost great numbers, as we shall later see, through disease and other causes, the Indians possessed a variety of new food crops and efficient techniques of agriculture, as well as beasts of burden and improved tools, to such an extent that even with its reduced population, a given area probably was made to produce more abundantly without any gross addition to the total burden of labor. Hence all early taxation lists were affected by too many variables, and in the absence of some consistent measure for such situations, it becomes impossible to convert the tribute lists into secure population estimates.

The second more fruitful method makes use of estimates of actual population collected at various times during the century. All sources of this kind, however, have long been suspect to students of the problem, for the simple reason that the estimates were obviously incomplete by modern standards. Yet, if no effort be made to evaluate the explicit population figures collected during the sixteenth century, then one must abandon all intention ever seriously to discuss the problems either of pre-Conquest or of early colonial population movements.¹⁶ No other evidence exists or will exist. It

¹⁸ Regarding tributes, Zorita wrote, "... unas veces les han bajado y otras no, y muchas han de poco acá subido é aun doblado, y tornádolas al estado, 6 poco menos, que antes estaban, por las cautelas y fraudes que en ello hay...." "Breve y sumaria relación ...," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México (ed. J. García Icazbalccta), III (Mexico, 1891), 185-186. See note 99.

^{18 &}quot;Critical analysis of sixteenth and seventeenth century writings has not yielded and probably never will yield definite results." International Migrations (New York, 1931), II, 54. Thus W. F. Willcox rejected them all, with one exception (López de Velasco). On the other hand, too optimistic a view is advanced by Sauer for the peripheral areas: "Modern students commonly have

should be repeated, however, that such figures are inadequate for the purposes of calculating total populations in the extremely diverse ecological areas embraced by colonial Mexico. The best our figures can be made to do is to suggest sample population densities at various moments.

The analysis of the sources can best be approached through an examination of the peculiar difficulties involved in taking the census among these scattered peoples. It is necessary to understand, for instance, how fluid and unstable the tribal population was. The new economic pressures of various kinds often forced previously sedentary peoples into a state of nomadism. To escape the burdens of taxation, the inhabitants of an entire town would flee to the mountains. Such behavior was severely punished, but even then, the law allowed Indians who had recently changed residence for legitimate reasons, to enjoy one year of exemption from tribute.¹⁷ In addition, the creation of a mercantile economy greatly enlarged the number of migrant Indians, who travelled constantly from one occupation to the next, seeking work in the mines, or on cattle farms, or again as carriers and harvesters.18 Beyond these factors of dispersal, it should not be overlooked that the fundamental agricultural technology of the time hindered the farmers from living in urban groups; 19 rather was it necessary for the farming population to live in the fields. Even today, the visitor to Mexico may witness this agrarian dispersal, as in the mountains of the eastern Sierra Madre, where the population of the settlements is far exceeded by that of families living the year around upon inaccessible mountainside fields, and coming into the towns only upon ceremonial occasions. Everywhere, furthermore, Indian property consisted of such casual ele-

been inclined to discount early opinions of native numbers. . . . I have found no general reasons for suspecting that the first observers were given to exaggeration.'' Carl Sauer, "Aboriginal population of northwestern Mexico," Ibero-americana, X (1935), 1.

¹⁷ Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias, XIV, 330-331; Papeles de Nueva España, V, 220.

¹⁸ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Descripción geográfica de los reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo León (Mexico, 1940), pp. 34-35.

¹⁹ Papeles de Nueva España, V, 100; Epistolario, II, 181.

ments that abrupt changes of residence were constantly in progress.²⁰

The accuracy of the population counts was also affected by a confused and unsystematic nomenclature.21 In few of the available reports is it ever clear whether the census was taken in terms of taxpayers, households, residences, or total population. Sometimes a report gives complete information upon the age structure of a community, indicating the number of infants, of unconfirmed children, adults male and female. married couples, bachelors and widows, aged and infirm,22 but more usually, an undifferentiated total is given, and it is often impossible to decide whether the number of tributaries or the total number of persons is being reported. In general, however, it appears that the count was usually made with some care, by professionally competent persons, and that the ambiguities result rather from the inadequacies of statistical diction than from any incompleteness of the census. Alonso de Zorita provided a detailed report of the composition of a typical census expedition as it functioned between 1554 and

²⁰ ''. . . No se puede averiguar ni saber los pueblos, casas ni número de los naturales que hay por ser muchos y vivir apartados y en una casa hay ocho y diez y más, y porque se encubren y porque hacen y deshacen sus casas con poco trabajo y viven en lugares y partes tan apartados y escondidos que no se saben ni alcanzan.'' Report of the Audiencia, July 5, 1532, Epistolario, II, 181.

These obstacles to an accurate taking of the census have not yet been removed in many outlying parts of the Republic. Hans Gadow described essentially similar conditions in 1904: "... the numbers of the less civilized natives especially are mere guess work, let alone those of the still wild tribes. The Prefect sends in the return for his district, himself relying upon the returns of the municipal presidents, who certainly do not overestimate their people, many of whom live in lonely hamlets, scattered among the mountain fastnesses. The census of the towns is just as difficult. The Indians shrewdly suspect that a census may be connected with increased taxation, with military service, vaccination, and similar blessings of civilization, and those who feel that they are 'wanted' think that this is a dodge for catching them. Consequently, there is an exodus, and they vanish. Those authorities who know the prevailing conditions, consider the population of brown natives to be several millions larger than the official returns.'' Gadow, Through Southern Mexico (London, 1908), pp. 259-261.

²¹ Juan Suárez de Peralta, Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista . . . (ed. Justo Zaragoza, Madrid, 1878), pp. 142-143.

²⁸ The most detailed enumerations are provided in the report by Bartolomé de Ledesma, for the Archbishopric of Mexico, published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, in *Papeles de Nueva España*, III, 1905. See note 28.

1564.²³ The census-taker himself was appointed by the Audiencia, and assigned to work in a certain community or region. An interpreter and a secretary accompanied him. The party traveled with a retinue of servants, and their keep was provided by the inhabitants of the district to be studied. The cost of food and lodging was supposedly paid for from funds provided by the colonial government. When all the inhabitants of the town or district had been assembled, with the help of local officials, the actual count was made.

Certain grave abuses characterized the process. The encomenderos²⁴ usually found it desirable to inflate the number of Indians entrusted to their care, in order that heavier tribute might be exacted from the community.²⁵ An encomendero would secure the appointment of a corrupt official to enumerate his holdings. This done, the census itself could be inflated by the suppression of the mortality records, by enumerating people from other towns, by including all non-tributary persons as taxpayers, and by actual falsification of the parish books of baptisms and deaths. Then again, the counts were perverted by the Indians themselves, as at Nexapa, in the Chontal country of the bishopric of Oaxaca, where the caciques deliberately underestimated the true size of the settlements, in order to secure a reduction in the rate of tribute.²⁶

Beyond these obvious sources of error, it is generally true that no census pretending to accuracy could be achieved until after the resolution of the many problems of property ownership and jurisdiction that remained unsettled until nearly the middle of the century. It was above all necessary that a Spanish population be thoroughly settled among the Indians in every region. Then, no real census could be achieved until

²⁸ Alonso de Zorita, "Breve y sumaria relación . . . ," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México, III (1891), 186-187. Zorita points out that the head-count itself was completely unknown to the Indians in antiquity.

³⁴ The encomendero was a white colonist to whom the services of certain Indians were granted in return for his undertaking to provide religious and secular instruction, and protection from abuse. See L. B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, Berkeley, 1929. Silvio Zavala, *De encomiendas y propriedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América Española*, Mexico, 1940.

the missionaries, the secular clergy, the civil administration, and the encomenderos had established the boundaries of their jurisdictions and made the acquaintance of the peoples living in those territories. It is most unlikely that any reliable census figures earlier than 1545 will ever be found, for as late as 1545 a contemporary writer gives a discouraging account of conditions. Within twenty leagues of the capital, there were Indians in such confusion and ignorance about their status in the colony, that they held their encomendero as a kind of sovereign. Large numbers of Indians were still unaware of the Conquest; they had never been visited by Spaniards, and their ignorance of Christianity was complete. In this text, reference was made, not to the distant, unconverted provinces, but to districts within a few days' journey from Mexico City.²⁷

It would be futile to attempt to prove that any of the population lists were accurate, exhaustive or unbiased. At all times, the efforts made by the viceregal administration to secure accurate information regarding population were frustrated in various ways, as by the state of economic nomadism described above, the agrarian dispersal of large parts of the population, by inadequate census methods, and by fraudulent reports, whether from Europeans or Indians. Still, the figures gathered under these conditions are far from completely useless for our purpose. Surprising agreement is sometimes manifest among reports written by different authorities at the same time.²⁸ If one select, moreover, reports compiled at different times by the same interests, then the degree of biased distortion may be taken as constant. That is, those

²⁷ Epistolario, II, 210-213. Tello de Sandoval to Philip II, September 9, 1545. Jacques Soustelle reports upon the survival of these conditions in many parts of modern Mexico. Mexique: terre indienne, Paris, 1936.

²⁸ Among twenty-five towns listed in the Archbishopric of Mexico by López de Velasco (Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias (ed. Justo Zaragoza, Madrid, 1894), pp. 194-206) and Bartolomé de Ledesma ("Descripción del arzobispado de México," Papeles de Nueva España, Vol. III, Madrid, 1905), the resultant totals differ by less than ten per cent. This is of special interest since López de Velasco's report, though sketchy, covers all America, and Ledesma's, which includes but a few settlements in the northern parts of the Archbishopric, is admirable for the exhaustive classificatory treatment of population.

lists prepared under the influence of the encomenderos will always show inflation, but the amount of inflation may be assumed to be uniform, so that it does not disguise the real, underlying rate of change in the population. For if the bias of an interested party does not materially alter during a number of years, then it makes little difference what his total figures may be, since we are primarily interested in the rate of change. It seems safe to calibrate the available sources as follows. If a churchman estimates the size of his flock, the highest available figure will be closer to reality than the lowest, since the clergy was usually pro-Indian, striving constantly to moderate the burden of tribute. When an encomendero, however, volunteers information regarding the number of Indians in his service, the lowest figure is most acceptable.

It happens to be true that the clergy submitted relatively few reports regarding population. Many more were prepared by civilian authorities in connection with the prolonged controversy over tenure of the encomiendas. We are, therefore, almost entirely dependent upon encomienda lists, and in effect, the conclusions of this essay are founded upon such sources. Their chief defect, and it is a defect they share with other classes of statistical material from the period, is that they tell nothing of abandoned settlements,29 or of urban regroupings, where the remains of a dozen settlements were gathered into one. Nor do the encomienda lists reveal the magnitude of the flow of scattered, non-urban peoples into cities at certain periods,30 and vice versa; they yield an unequivocal index only to the size of certain convenientlydocumented encomiendas at given times. It is as if the population movements of England in the sixteenth century were to be estimated from the number of tenant farmers upon selected manors at different times during the century.

The accompanying table shows the populations of 156

²⁰ Such towns are occasionally mentioned, as Xahualtepec, near Acapulco, completely wiped out ca. 1574 by smallpox. Papeles de Nueva España, VI, 156.
³⁰ Certain settlements grew steadily throughout the century, regardless of the effects of disease. Such was Zimapán, a mining town, in the Archbishopric of Mexico, Papeles de Nueva España, VI, 3.

settlements as of the years 1546-1547, 1569-1571, and 1595-1597 (Table I). These particular settlements were selected for tabulation simply because they are the ones which figure in all of the available encomienda lists. Occasionally the figures stand only for an encomendero's share in the population of a town (e.g., the holdings of Antonio de la Torre at Ocuila). His share, however, remained constant, even in the estate transmitted to his heirs, so that the part may be taken to remain constantly proportional to the whole.

TABLE I SELECTED ENCOMIENDA POPULATIONS

| ARCHBIS | HOPRIC (| OF MEXIC | 0 | Axacuba | 2,985 | 4,365 | 74 |
|-------------------|----------|----------|-------|---------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | 1546 | 1569- | 1595- | Аражсо | 532 | 1,155 | 33 |
| | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 | Tescatepeque | | | |
| Tepetitlan | 352 | 766 | 324 | Tuzantlalpa | 2,313 | 3,071 | 28 |
| Taxcaltitlan | 824 | 1,509 | 1,429 | Chilguautla | 961 | 1,200 | 34 |
| Ocuila | 823 | 850 | 298 | Tlalchichilpa | 905 | 1,555 | 958 |
| Guachinango | 1,143 | 3,7001 | 2,242 | Pachuca | 432 | 710 | 14: |
| Michimaloya | 1,390 | 1,547 | 249 | Tepechpa | 965 | 9273 | 480 |
| Quamuchtitlan | 2,247 | 1,6003 | 862 | Tianguistengo | 543 | 600 | 52 |
| Tlapanaloya | 118 | 150 | 273 | Micaoztoc | 28 | 30 | 2 |
| Tenanpulco | 160 | 150 | 73 | Cacabuatepeque. | 116 | 600 | 6- |
| Coatepec | 260 | . 500 | 167 | Chilapa | 1,130 | 4,0098 | 2,79 |
| Tlahuelilpa | 271 | 433 ` | 241 | Ayutla | 120 | | 373 |
| Aculma | 1,617 | 2,560 | 1,221 | Suchitonaca | 100 | | 90 |
| Zacualpa | 180 | | 108 | Tututepeque | 107 | 400 | 140 |
| Guazuleo | 223 | | 203 | Tistla | 158 | 3942 | 1,12 |
| Tlacotepeque (| 190 | | 107 | Çipaçucalco | 93 | 200 | 23 |
| Temoaque | 700 | 1,630 | 428 | | | | |
| Flamaco | 400 | 793 | 182 | | 45,169 | 72,471 | 38,16 |
| Zinacantepeque . | 815 | 1,500 | 1,191 | | | | |
| Zacualpa } | 1,000 | | 319 | BISHOPRIC OF OAXACA | | | |
| Tenancingo } | 786 | 2,150 | 307 | | 1546- | 1569- | 1595 |
| Malinalco | 950 | 1,000 | 1,217 | | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 |
| Xiquipilco | 2,800 | 3,500 | 1,290 | Ocotlan | 1,556 | 2,0201 | 800 |
| Mizquiaguala | 114 | 400 | 438 | Tamasulapa | 800 | 1,672 | 1,03 |
| l'ocaliyuca | 503 | 527 | 198 | Totolapa | 272 | 550 | 20 |
| Acamistlahuaca. | 245 | | 272 | Chicomesuchil | 682 | 550 | 239 |
| recontepeque | 80 | 300 | 195 | Etlatongo | 104 | | 6 |
| Atotonileo de | | | | Guautla | | | 23 |
| Pedraga | 820 | 1,550 | 343 | Zensontepeque | 21 | | 26 |
| Atotonilco | 1,415 | • • • | 1,596 | Tamazola | 302 | 727 | 5 |
| Acatlan | 211 | | 288 | Coyotepeque | 707 | 500 | 17 |
| Quaquesaloya | 155 | 5,200 | 203 | Mitlantongo | 355 | 3001 | 17/ |
| Герекі | 2,000 | 3,980 | 748 | Ocelotepeque | 393 | 1,2001 | 1,36 |
| Nestalpa | 200 | 410 | 125 | Apuala | | | 223 |
| Chila | 331 | 3503 | 289 | Coatlavista | | | 143 |
| Metztitlan | 6,308 | 6,9803 | 7,251 | Jocoticpac | 709 | 1,526 | 11 |
| Clachinolticpae . | 1,033 | 4,5008 | 3,191 | Tlacochahuaya | 855 | 6001 | 37: |
| Huepustla | 1,927 | 3,070 | 789 | Ystlan | 420 | 4001 | 149 |
| | | | | | | | |

Figures from López de Velasco, Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias (Madrid, 1894).
 Papeles de Nueva España (Madrid, 1905), Vol. V.
 Papeles de Nueva España (Madrid, 1905), Vol. III (Bartolomé de Ledesma).

TABLE I (Continued)

| Coatlan | 4,600 | 2,000 | 1,012 | Tepexuxuma | 685 | 800 | 465 |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------------------|---------|----------|--------|
| Otlatitlan | 82 | 500 | 168 | Huaquechula | 1,646 | 3,6651 | 1,895 |
| Xicaltepeque | 43 | 50 | 6 | | | | |
| Tlaxiaco | 5,870 | 3,5751 | 1,678 | | 32,862 | 32,822 | 16,879 |
| Chicahuastla | 671 | 4501 | 331 | nn or | **** | 2127700 | |
| Nopala | 695 | | 629 | PROV | INCE OF | | 1505 |
| Tututepeque 5 | 900 | 3,463 | 2,386 | | 1546~ | 1569- | 1595- |
| Yanguitlan | 3,052 | 6,184 | 3,354 | m | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 |
| Achiutla | 402 | 1,0001 | 585 | Tantala | 000 | 450 | 007 |
| Tiltepeque | 72 | 240 | | Tampaca | 290 | 450 | 287 |
| Atoyaquillo | 30 | 200 | 131 | Moyutla } | 54 | 100 | 104 |
| Tlapanala | 106 | 250 | 139 | Oceloama { | 181 | 100 | 104 |
| Tehuilotepeque. | 125 | 150 | 95 | Tamalol } | 150 | 100 | 4.00 |
| La Chichina | 148 | 50 | 78 | Cuacaxo J | 107 | 120 | 162 |
| Ayacastla | 125 | 1401 | 100 | Tanta | 32 | 30 | 50 |
| Xareta | 60 | 100 | 45 | Calpan | 40 | 403 | 19 |
| Tequepanza- | | | | Tamazunchale | 400 | | |
| cualco | 59 | 501 | 34 | (Cervantes) . | 102 | 200* | 510 |
| Totolinga | 105 | 601 | 73 | Tangetuco | 91 | 50 | 25 |
| Nespa | 80 | 125 | 31 | Guautla | 169 | 100 | 233 |
| Ometepeque | 340 | 8001 | 774 | Coatsalingo | 1,531 | 800 | 444 |
| Amusgos | 240 | 300 | 307 | Tancaxen | 50 | 35 | 32 |
| | 25,894 | 31,132 | 18,480 | | 2,807 | 1,925 | 1,866 |
| | MICHOACÁN | | | PROVINCE OF COLIMA | | | |
| | 1546- | 1569- | 1595- | | 1546 | 1569~ | 1595- |
| | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 | | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 |
| Uruapan | 473 | 1,700 | 1,129 | Alcoçani | 78 | 108 | 72 |
| Tzirosto | 1,064 | 2,500 | 1,570 | Tlacoloastla | 73 | 30 | 50 |
| Huango) | 2,002 | 2,000 | 111 | Apatlan | 231 | 100 | 17 |
| Purandiro | 283 | 845 | 393 | Tenamaztlan | | | |
| Taximaroa | 530 | 3,0001 | 1,527 | Tecolutla | | | |
| Acambaro | 508 | 2,800 | 1,557 | Ayutitlan | | | |
| La Guacana | 45 | 500 | 122 | Ayutla | | | |
| Tacambaro | 325 | 8001 | 351 | Istlahuaca | | | |
| Indaparapeo | 96 | 370 | 186 | Atengo | 724 | 930 | 532 |
| Turicato | 131 | 425 | 371 | Chipiltitlan | 102 | 50 | 23 |
| Zacapu | 316 | 1,000 | 263 | Comala | 117 | 150 | 137 |
| Periban | 291 | 1,400 | 880 | Popoyutla | 27 | 20 | 15 |
| 2 0130/013 | | | | Xicotlan | 150 | 50 | 35 |
| | 4,062 | 15,340 | 8,460 | Axixic Atoyaque | | | |
| | | | | Zacualco ⁵ | | | |
| BISHOPRIC OF TLAXCALA | | | Cocula 5 | | | | |
| | 1546 | 1569- | 1595- | Sayula 8 | | | |
| | 1547 | 1571 | 1597 | Chapala 5 | | | |
| Quechola | 4,392 | 3,3601 | 1,255 | Tepeque | | | |
| Tecamachalco | 13,982 | 8,700 | 5,108 | Teoquititlan | | | |
| Tututepeque | 2,535 | 4,000 | 2,167 | Techalutla | | | |
| Achachalintla | 696 | 1,500 | 925 | Xocotepeque | 3,773 | 3,167 | 3,497 |
| Çuatinchan | 3,120 | 2,568 | 1,459 | | | | |
| Xuxupango | 534 | 7001 | 100 | | 5,275 | 4,605 | 4,378 |
| Piasla | 108 | 355 | 295 | | 0,210 | 2,000 | 2,010 |
| Çapotitlan | 1,346 | 2,0001 | 1,353 | ZACATULA | AND MA | R DEL SU | R |
| Acolzingo | 204 | 3003 | 100 | Zacaltepeque | 550 | 923 | 366 |
| Teupantlan | 470 | 524 | 545 | Huiztlan | 87 | 60 | 45 |
| Totomehuacan | 835 | 1,000 | 516 | | | | |
| | | | | | | 000 | 499 |
| Chiapulco | 228 | 200 | 348 | | 637 | 983 | 411 |

⁴ In 1555, from Epistolario, VIII, 4.
⁵ Settlements located in New Galicia, but belonging to the encomienda of Alonso Dávalos. The province of Colima actually belonged to the bishopric of Michoacán, but it has been listed separately here, in order to present peripheral conditions. The encomiendas of the bishopric of New Galicia are fully listed only in the Suma of 1546-1547.

N.B. Spellings of place-names are given as in the Suma de visitas. Brackets signify towns belonging to one encomendero.

The reader will notice that the table was compiled mainly from three sources. For two of these, the dates of composition have never been determined accurately. The anonymous Suma de visitas offers information about some 900 sixteenthcentury towns.³¹ The population of each town is described. usually in great detail as to number of households, number of tributaries, number of women, children, or single adults. Further information is given about the quantity and kind of tribute paid in each settlement, about local crops and industries, territorial boundaries and administrative status, and whether it is held in encomienda or as a property of the Crown (corregimiento). In every respect, the Suma de visitas is the most exhaustive general report surviving from the sixteenth century.32 Several misconceptions prevail as to the date of its composition. L. B. Simpson attributed the compilation to 1535-1540,33 while Francisco del Paso y Troncoso assigned it to 1550.34 But the special significance of the document becomes evident only upon proof that its figures enumerate the population as of 1546-1547, that is, immediately following the great pestilence of 1545. It was apparently written in answer to a need expressed in several administrative memoranda of this time. Thus the inspector Tello de Sandoval, sent to New Spain to report upon conditions, requested Philip II on September 9, 1545, to institute an accurate geographical and statistical reconnaissance of the colony,35 since without it, no order could be brought into the affairs of the viceregal administration. Philip II later ordered, in April 1546, that Viceroy Antonio Mendoza take the necessary measures for such a reconnaissance.³⁶ Information

⁸¹ "Suma de visitas de pueblos por orden alfabético. Manuscrito 2800 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Anónimo de la mitad del siglo XVI." Edited by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, in *Papeles de Nueva España*, I (Madrid, 1905).

⁵² Its importance was recognized by Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid, 1935), pp. 311-312.

³² L. B. Simpson, "The repartimiento system of native labor in New Spain and Guatemala," *Iberoamericana*, XIII (Berkeley, 1938), 7.

¹⁴ Silvio Zavala, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. Su misión en Europa (Mexico, 1938), p. 62.

³⁵ Epistolario, IV, 210-213.

^{**} Vasco de Puga, Cedulario . . . (Madrid, 1878-1879), I, 479-480. ''. . . Os dandamos que luego entendáis en hacer la memoria de los pueblos e indios desa

was to be gathered regarding the Indian populations, the Spanish populations, the number and size of towns, and the status of all encomiendas in the realm.

The date of composition is to be determined from the following facts: Andrés de Barrios, mentioned as the living encomendero of Metztitlán in the Suma,³⁷ died shortly after October 28, 1547,³⁸ so that the compilation must antedate his death. The terminus post quem is established by the fact that Gonzalo de las Casas, mentioned as encomendero of Yanhuitlán in the Suma,³⁹ did not receive the property from his father, Francisco de las Casas, until 1546.⁴⁰

If the actual writing of the *Suma* took place in 1546-1547, when were the figures gathered for it? The census which it contains must have been made in connection with the reassignment of the encomiendas. This task was entrusted to Viceroy Mendoza, and it appears to have been completed by the end of 1547.⁴¹

The question remains as to whether the population figures of the Suma refer to conditions before or after the plague of 1545. It will be seen that the various encomiendas, at the time of the Suma, were much smaller than in 1569-1570. This indicates that the population count was taken after the deep incursions of the pestilence of 1545,⁴² for if the count had been taken before 1545, the situation simply would not correspond to the common impression held by colonists of all categories that the plague of 1545 had destroyed an alarming portion of the Indian race in Mexico.

⁴⁰ Wigberto Jiménez Moreno and Salvador Mateos Higuera, Codice de Yanhuitlán (Mexico, 1940), pp. 18-19.

⁴¹ See note 36.

⁴⁸ There are few references to epidemic disease in the Suma, which might seem strange in a document compiled so soon after the calamity of 1545, were it not that its primary purpose was to record information regarding encomiendas, rather than population losses themselves. See, for instance, the report upon Suchitlán, in New Galicia, Papeles de Nueva España, I, 192.

The next column in the table is based mainly upon the encomienda report published by Luis García Pimentel.43 After the Suma de visitas, it is the most complete published account of local populations preserved from the sixteenth century. It contains omissions, however, which made it necessary to consult other contemporary sources, such as López de Velasco, for certain settlements, as well as one or two fragments published by García Pimentel and Paso y Troncoso.44 García Pimentel's Lista is much more compact than the Suma, and it is perhaps somewhat less reliable. Like the Suma, it bears no explicit indication as to the date of composition, but here again, the names of certain encomenderos will allow us to assign the Lista to a specific time. It is known, for instance, that Angel de Villafañe, mentioned as deceased in the Lista, 45 was still alive in 1571, 46 so that the manuscript must have been compiled after that date. On the other hand, Tristán de Luna v Arellano, who inherited a great encomienda in Oaxaca from his deceased wife, Isabel de Rojas, is mentioned as alive in the Lista, 47 and we know that his death occurred on September 16, 1573.48 Thus our document must have been written between 1571 and 1573, and is probably based upon data collected between 1569 and 1571, since there is no record of any census other than that of 1569-1571 at this period in the century.

Finally, the *Información* of 1597,⁴⁹ from which all figures in the third column of the table proceed, offers no problems of date, although it might be observed that like the *Lista*, its figures are incidental to the main purpose of recording encomiendas and their holders. It is not unlikely that the lists of tributaries are based upon vital statistics gathered as early

⁴⁸ Luis García Pimentel, Relación de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca y otros lugares (Mexico, 1904), pp. 153-188.

⁴⁴ Papeles de Nueva España, III (see note 28).

⁴⁵ Relación de los obispados . . . , p. 180.

^{**} Epistolario, XI, 123.

⁴⁷ Relación de los obispados . . . , pp. 155-156.

⁴⁸ Indice de documentos de Nueva España existentes en el archivo de Indias de Sevilla (Mexico, 1928), I, 323.

^{**} Epistolario, XIII ("Información . . . sobre el estado en que se encontraba la sucesión de las encomiendas de indios . . . 17 de Abril de 1597"), pp. 34-48.

as 1595. It may also be noted that more private encomiendas were listed in 1597 than since the Suma.⁵⁰ This would seem contrary to the fact that, during the second half of the century, many holdings escheated to the Crown upon the death of the third-generation encomenderos to whom they had been awarded,⁵¹ but it is actually due largely to the fragmentary condition of the Lista. It is also true, nevertheless, that by 1595-1597 many settlements founded earlier in the century had been depopulated or abandoned, and were no longer taken into account. Thus with the holdings of Tristán de Arellano in Oaxaca: Miquitla, which figured in the census of 1569-1571,⁵² does not appear in 1595-1597. Likewise with the various towns awarded to Luis Marín: of seven towns in his possession in 1569-1571,⁵³ only five remained in 1595-1597.⁵⁴

So much for the historical criticism of the sources for Table I. The reader may wonder why more use has not been made of certain better known, if incomplete reports, such as that compiled by López de Velasco,⁵⁵ and by the many authors of the series of *Relaciones Geográficas*, written between 1579 and 1581.⁵⁶ The main reason is that neither of these accounts deals with encomiendas as such. It will be

- ⁵¹ L. B. Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley, 1929), p. 126.
- 52 Descripción de los obispados, p. 155.
- ⁵³ Descripción de los obispados, p. 172.

55 Juan López de Velasco, Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias... desde el año de 1571 al de 1574 (ed. Justo Zaragoza, Madrid, 1894).

se Many of the Relaciones geográficas for New Spain were published by Paso y Troncoso, Papeles de Nueva España, segunda serie, geografía y estadistica (6 vols., Madrid, 1905). Other unpublished papers from the same series are preserved in the Latin-American Library of the University of Texas, at Austin, Texas. The cosmographic project itself is discussed by Federico Gómez de Orozco, "Relaciones histórico-geográficos de Nueva España," México antiguo, III (1931-1936), 43-51, and by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Relaciones geográficas del Perú (4 vols., Madrid, 1881-1897). See also the Revista mexicana de estudios históricos, I (1927), II (1928).

⁵⁰ Whereas the Suma recorded 556 private encomiendas, the Lista accounted for only 307, and the Información of 1597 listed 446 encomiendas. (It is perhaps repetitious to refer to an encomienda as "privately-held," but to do so emphasizes the distinction between encomienda and Crown property, or corregimiento.)

⁵⁴ Epistolario, XIII, passim. The converse situation may also hold true: that settlements founded at a late date were recorded only in the Información, and not in the Lista. In any case, a close study of these documents should reveal something of the rhythm of urban foundation in Mexico.

recalled that our restriction to encomienda lists was for the purpose of guaranteeing some uniformity of bias among the various sorts of bias. Again, neither of these accounts is dedicated primarily to population statistics. López de Velasco worked at second-hand, reducing the data to round figures. expressive of territorial units whose geographical boundaries are uncertain. His information, furthermore, probably came from many different sources—not only from encomienda inspectors, but also from the secular clergy, the regular clergy, and the civilian administrators of Crown properties (corregidores). Often these different kinds of information overlap: often they are inconsistent with one another, and on the whole, López de Velasco's report appears to be an administrative document in which the details are too often rather badly blurred, at least as regards New Spain. This is not sufficient reason, however, for completely discarding López de Velasco's work, for his larger computations check well with more accurate and detailed contemporary accounts.57

The Relaciones Geográficas, on the other hand, are phrased over and over again in such a way as to suggest staggering population losses, and specific figures are but rarely given. When they are offered, they surpass belief. In them, the comparison is always made between the population of pre-Conquest times and population following the plague of 1576. Curiously enough, the figures given are always much too high, not only for the pre-Conquest estimates, but also for conditions at the time of writing. There is little evidence of careful census methods, and the primary purpose of the questionnaire to which the Relaciones were the answers was apparently to secure topographical and historical information rather than vital statistics. It is not at all true that the reporters in each locality were seeking tax relief by underesti-

⁵⁷ See note 28.

^{**} Thus, for Jalapa (Vera Cruz), where the local informants estimated the ancient population at a figure larger than 30,000 inhabitants, while the number in 1580 was given as 639 tributaries. Papeles de Nueva España, V, 100. Actually, the population in 1570 was no more than 35-40 tributaries, as given in Epistolario, XIV, 95, and López de Velasco, Descripción y Geografía universal . . . (ed. Justo Zaragoza, Madrid, 1894), p. 215.

mating the number of tributaries;⁵⁹ on the contrary, loose guesses were given in answer to questions of which the purpose was quite different. Thus the questionnaire merely called for information as to whether the district were "de muchos o pocos Indios, y si ha tenido mas o menos en otro tiempo que ahora, y las causas que dello se supieren..."

From the information presented in Table I, a graph was drawn (Fig. 1), to clarify the changes in population density.

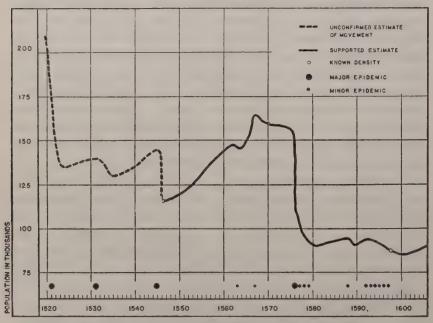


Fig. 1. Population Movements in Mexico 1520-1600

As graphs go, it is an odd composition, based partly upon figures, partly upon historical surmise. Only three of its points are fixed by statistical evidence of any degree of accuracy and completeness. All other positions are based upon nonstatistical estimates, contemporary assertions, and general sixteenth- and seventeenth-century impressions. The three known points are plotted upon the strength of the

⁵⁹ See Rafael García Granados, "Capillas de indios en Nueva España (1530-1605)," Archivo español de arte y arqueología, XXXI (1935), 2.

Orozco y Berra, Apuntes para la historia de la geografía en América (Mexico, 1881), pp. 155-162; and Papeles de Nueva España, IV, 1-7.

encomienda populations as of 1546-1547, 1569-1571, and 1595-1597. The sharp drop in population as of 1545 was plotted by virtue of a number of authoritative sources, all agreeing that the mortalities suffered in the plague of 1545 were less than one-half as numerous as those of the plague of 1576.61 Of course, the actual population loss of 1576 is not directly given by our figures, but is projected backward in time from the conditions prevailing in 1595-1597. Between 1546 and 1575, it will be seen that an extraordinary rise in population occurred. This, to be sure, is only the movement to be noted in certain encomienda towns, but there is no compelling reason, within present knowledge, for not assuming that the ratios involved are typical and proportionally accurate with regard to total population.62 Furthermore, the trajectory between 1546 and 1575, although lacking in detailed incidents supported by further documentation, represents the most secure portion of the graph. Remarkable, moreover, is the long period, between 1546 and 1563, in which no epidemics are recorded. This must be regarded as an important cause for the striking recovery made by nearly all the populations of Mexico prior to 1570.63 Concerning the movement between 1577 and 1595, no such rise can be documented. Our interpretation of the period 1575-1595, then, is supported only by the many historical indications of minor but persistent epidemics of limited range but considerable intensity.

At the left-hand extreme of our curve, the section representing population at the time of the Conquest was determined by a series of inferences from extremely vague data. This section of the graph, to 1546, has therefore less validity than other sections, and contains a possible error of unknown magnitude, since we are deprived even of contemporary guesses as to the size of population losses at that time.⁶⁴

⁶¹ See pp. 630-631.

⁶² Compare, for instance, the total suggested by López de Velasco and again those of 1597. López de Velasco counted 711,000 tributaries in the bishoprics of Mexico, Tlaxcala, Oaxaca, Michoacán and New Galicia, while in 1597, according to *Epistolario*, Vol. XIII, p. 17, the total number of tributaries belonging to the Crown, the Marquesate, and the private encomiendas barely touched 500,000 in the same areas.

⁶⁴ A brief account of the plague of 1520-1521 (smallpox) was given by

Thus the most reliable positions along the curve are the points corresponding to the well-documented years in Table I. The next most credible indications are those of the plague years, plotted along the horizontal axis. All the rest is conjecture, more or less supported by historical information of nonstatistical character.

In the next step all conjecture, beyond the initial assumption that the encomienda figures are reliable indicators of population movement, was dispensed with. Only the ratios contained among the totals of the three "known" points (1546-1547, 1569-1571, 1595-1597) are shown, plotted from a common index in 1546-1547, and resolved into separate curves according to the sub-totals for the various geographical or administrative areas. It will be proper to analyze these separate curves with reference to other information regarding the areas in question.

In the bishoprics of Michoacán, Mexico, and Oaxaca (Fig. 2), population rose steeply after 1546, and dropped abruptly

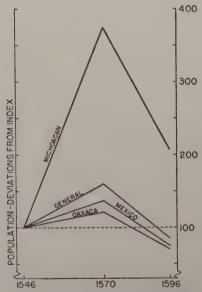


Fig. 2. Regional Deviations of Population Density, 1546-1596

Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España (Mexico, 1938), IV, 191-193.

sometime following 1570. These dioceses were the largest single administrative areas within the vice-royalty of New Spain. The remarkable fact in all three areas is the recovery effected between 1546 and 1570. The opposite holds true in Pánuco, Colima, the province of Mar del Sur, and the bishopric of Tlaxcala (Fig. 3), where the population either re-

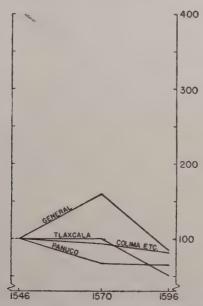


Fig. 3. Regional Deviations of Population Density, 1546-1596

mained stable during the period in question, as in the bishopric of Tlaxcala, or else dropped suddenly. The phenomenon of recovery is most apparent in the curve for Michoacán, where the density of urban population was more than tripled by 1570.

The fact may be explained by any combination of the following causes. In the first place, the bishopric possessed extensive frontiers upon untouched, if thinly-populated, country (Fig. 4). That is to say, following a depletion by disease, the colonists, notably the missionaries, could readily replenish their settlements by drawing upon these peripheral reserves of population. The process is well documented in the activity

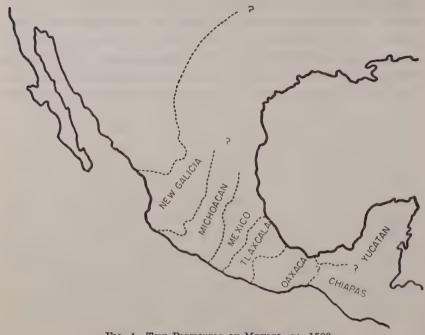


Fig. 4. The Bishopric of Mexico, ca. 1580

of Fray Juan Bautista de Moya.⁶⁵ In the second place, if the colonial regime really enabled the Indians to produce more abundantly with the new technology introduced by the European settlers, then Michoacán, a rich country, would have been made to support a far larger population than in pre-Conquest antiquity. It is striking, even today in Michoacán, to observe how thinly populated its fertile landscapes are, in contrast to the swarming populations of much poorer areas of the republic of Mexico.⁶⁶ Now among the Tarasca and Ma-

⁶⁵ Matías de Escobar, American thebaida (2nd ed., Mexico, 1924), p. 128. After 1552, the Augustinian friar, Juan Bautista de Moya ''... fundó las doctrinas de Nucupetaro, Turicato, Cutzio, Sirándaro, Guacana, Purungueo, adonde edificó iglesias y conventos, y bajando hasta Acapulco, fundó a Coaguayutla, Petatlán y Tecpan, hasta ... la Guacana, y allí cerca fundó a Urecho y a Santa Clara y Ario, y en Sinagua hasta hoy perseveran las pequeñas celdas que labró.'' Full biographical details of the life of this remarkable missionary appear in the same work, Chap. XXXII, p. 447.

**See Summer W. Cushing, "The distribution of population in Mexico," Geographical Review, XI (1921), 227-242.

tlatzinca peoples of Michoacán,⁶⁷ the level of material culture that had been attained in antiquity was far lower than that of the high civilizations of the central southern plateaus, in the Valley of Mexico and in the country about Puebla and Cholula. In other words, the technological expansion of the colonial regime was slight with regard to the Aztec peoples of central southern Mexico, but it was greater with regard to the tribes of western Mexico. That differential may be of some importance to the question at hand.

In the third place, Michoacán was the theater of the astonishing social experiments of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga.68 Originally a lawyer formed in the humanist circles of Renaissance Spain, Quiroga was deeply influenced by Thomas More. 69 Upon becoming Auditor of New Spain in 1530, one of his first concerns was to realize in America the Utopian speculations of his English contemporary.70 More's propositions concerning the rational state, patterned upon Plato and the primitive Christian communities of Rome, appealed so greatly to him that he founded two experimental towns at his own expense, one in the Valley of Mexico, and the other on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro in Michoacán. In later life, Quiroga expressly stated that his Indian communities were inspired by the Utopia. After becoming bishop of Michoacán in 1537, Quiroga influenced the establishment of many more communities of this character. They were primarily dedicated to Christian perfection, and served as efficient organizations for the propagation of the faith among unsettled groups of new converts. All property was held communally, and the

⁶⁷ Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, ed., Los Tarascos (Mexico, 1940). José García Payón, Zona arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca (Mexico, 1936).

^{**} Rafael Aguayo Spencer, ed., Don Vasco de Quiroga, Documentos (Mexico, 1939).

[°]Silvio Zavala, La "Utopia" de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España y otros estudios (Mexico, 1937). Justino Fernández and Edmundo O'Gorman, Santo Tomás More y "La Utopia de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España" (Mexico, 1937).

⁷º Diego Basalenque, Historia de la provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de Michoacan, del Orden de N. P. Augustin (Mexico, 1673), p. 102a. At Pátzcuaro, Quiroga "Hizo... un Hospital de Santa Martha dedicado à la Concepcion de N. Señora, de donde tuvieron principio todos los Hospitales de esta Provincia... de modo, que vezinos, y forasteros todos hallã alli remedio."

Indians were relieved from personal service and tribute. The exercise of crafts and agriculture provided subsistence, while leisure was employed in doctrinal exercises and the care of the sick. The administration of Bishop Quiroga was so successful that the mendicant orders in western Mexico adopted the form of these communities, and as late as the eighteenth century the community meetings, the landholding system, and other characteristic arrangements were maintained intact in many areas. Thus the work of Quiroga cannot be overlooked in relation to the extraordinary increase of urban population reflected in our figures. It created a stable mode for Indian life unparalleled elsewhere in the colonial world. The exercise of the extraordinal world.

The striking movement observed in Michoacán relates, then, to open frontiers, general underpopulation at all times, and a systematic program of social improvement unprecedented elsewhere in Mexico. Conditions were perhaps roughly analogous in the bishopric of Oaxaca. An intense urban program directed by the Dominican missionaries75 was maintained by replenishing the depleted populations from an extensive back country, southward to the Pacific, and eastward to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. As regards the archbishopric of Mexico, an important factor in the population rise between 1546 and 1570 would have been the metropolitan character of the Valley of Mexico. Whether forced or voluntary, the migration of Indians to the Capital would at all times have been greater than to any provincial center.78 It is also true that the Archbishopric of Mexico, like Michoacán and Oaxaca, possessed extensive frontiers upon virgin country (Fig. 4) with unconverted populations. But the limited recovery manifested can perhaps be assigned to the more rapid spread of epidemic disease among these urban populations.77

⁷³ Zavala, op. cit., p. 15.

^{7&#}x27; The special distinction of the "Hospitals" of Michoacán would appear to be their relative freedom from onerous supervision. Other "Utopian" efforts such as that of the Jesuits in Paraguay (1610-1767) were achieved only by keeping the Indians in a prolonged state of tutelage.

⁷⁵ See Agustín Dávila Padilla, Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de Mexico (2nd ed., Madrid, 1625), pp. 64-65.

⁷⁶ Cervantes de Salazar, México en 1554 (ed. J. García Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1875).

 $^{^{77}}$ In speaking of missionary activity during the period 1590-1620 in the area

It will be seen that the phenomenon of recovery was missing for the bishopric of Tlaxcala and for certain peripheral provinces, such as Colima, Mar del Sur (Zacatula) and Pánuco (Fig. 3). The diocese of Tlaxcala did not have a great back-country from which nomadic or semi-nomadic reserves could be recruited (Fig. 4). The map reveals how the bishopric was wedged, without indefinite territories, between two other great dioceses barring it from expansion into any tierra incógnita. Also remarkable is the dense concentration in the area; it is the most thickly populated region of Mexico, and in its great towns, such as Cholula, Tepeaca, Tecamachalco and dozens of others, epidemic disease took a steady, unremitting toll. Although the area surely benefited from certain factors of increase, these impeding conditions were such that its population remained static.

The peripheral districts ordinarily should be included in the figures for the great bishoprics, but I have listed them separately here because the movements revealed are so widely divergent from those indicated for the larger areas (Fig. 3). It was really only in these borderlands that population declined steadily without redress. Elsewhere, the decline was corrected by moments of remarkable recovery; at the frontiers of the colony, however, it is not unlikely that the various general causes for decline, which we shall shortly discuss at some length, operated with unchecked vigor.

In general, it is noteworthy that only in Michoacán did the population show a net increase from 1546 to 1595 (Fig. 2);

from the Sinaloa River north to the Yaqui country, Carl Sauer notes that "European epidemics probably preceded the white man into this area, but their seriousness was probably much aggravated by the mission system. Prior to the missions these natives (except so far as they have been reduced in encomiendas) lived in scattered rancherias." Thus urbanization exposed the Indians to infections gathered in gregarious living, and the daily assemblies for church-building, instruction and ritual dissolved the "protective isolation of aboriginal living." Carl Sauer, "Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico," Iberoamericana, X (1935), p. 12.

⁷⁸ See Annales de Domingo Francisco de San Anton Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, sixième et septième relations (1258-1612), (ed. Rémi Siméon, Paris, 1889), and Antonio Peñafiel, ed., "Anales de Tecamachalco," Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana (Mexico, 1903).

¹⁰ This order is followed in the Suma de Visitas of 1546-1547 (Papeles de Nueva España, Vol. I).

elsewhere its net diminution was considerable and uniform (Fig. 3). If the figures upon which these curves are based bear any valid relation to reality, the graph we present here is the most remarkable confirmation of the effectiveness of the social program instituted by Bishop Quiroga (Fig. 2).

TT

In order to present the statistical material, such as it is, we had to make some casual references to the causes of population decline. Widespread and repeated epidemic was of course the major determinant and the most obvious one. As a cause it fails, however, adequately to explain certain aspects of the problem. A rich variety of sources, for instance, attributed the high mortality among the Indians not to epidemic but to inhumane exploitation by the European colonists. It is obvious also that even among the most benevolent missionary protectors of the Indians, a certain paternalistic kindness was itself far from a negligible cause of decline. The Indians themselves, moreover, gave numerous explanations for their loss of numbers, and they are explanations that do not always invoke epidemic disease.

Before examining these other, social causes, we may attempt to enumerate and define the epidemic incursions. Pestilence⁸⁰ was almost constant during the sixteenth century.

** Geddes Smith, Plague on Us (New York, 1941), p. 158. "What then is an epidemic? It is a tidal wave of disease. But it is also an incident in the adjustment of a parasite to an expanding environment, and, conversely, an incident in the mass immunization of a human herd against an inimical factor in its environment—a wholesale change of status with respect to a particular infection, with death as the transfer tax and herd immunity as a bonus."

Hans Gadow traveled through an area stricken by smallpox in 1906, and his description of the effects is worth quotation. The region is southern Oaxaca. "... In nearly all the villages and hamlets along the track there raged smallpox of the virulent black and confluent kind. It is no exaggeration to say that people were dying on the roadside. The huts in this somewhat poor district were loosely, and often carelessly constructed reed shanties. Outside some of these, in the courtlike enclosures, we saw lying on the ground both men and women, some in the shade, others left in the glaring sun, in the last stage of the disease, with their relations squatting round them in dumb despair. This had been going on for several weeks; naturally some had recovered—at least, many of those that we met were in the peeling stage—but many huts were deserted, the reed-curtains used as doors being left open and aslant. The entire population of one village

To be sure, there were spells when the colony was free from plague, but the longest of these recesses lasted only seventeen years, between 1546 and 1563. The normal interval between general attacks was ten years or less, and the records suggest frequent localized epidemics⁸¹ of which little account will be taken here, since no measure for the mortality incurred during such incidents can be deduced.

Although no detailed impressions survive as to the extent of the epidemic of 1520-1521, fairly consistent estimates of the relative intensity of the pestilences of 1545 and 1576 are available. Juan de Torquemada, Matías Escobar, Agustín Dávila Padilla and Francisco Clavigero all indicated that the mortality in 1576 was about two and one half times as great as that in 1545.82 Their estimates are confirmed by an important contemporary account, the Anales de Tecamachalco,83 a year book which records the various epidemics at the time of their occurrence. According to this source, the deaths at Tecamachalco caused by disease in 1545 numbered forty daily, striking chiefly among the children, whereas in 1576 the plague struck all ages, carrying away at least one hundred persons daily during the crisis. In fact, a rather full account of the plague of 1576 might be written. It broke out in

was said to have been exterminated, with the exception of a little girl who was found there, and who, when rescued, was prostrate by starvation. Yet there had been no stampede, the people stoically waiting for what was going to happen; in some villages they had had a few sporadic cases, and after the victims of these had died, the remainder were left in peace.'' Through Southern Mexico (London, 1908), p. 224.

⁸¹ Viceroy Luis Velasco II wrote to Philip II on November 6, 1591, as follows: "En algunas partes hay siempre enfermedad entre los indios, como ahora sucede en la Mixteca y algunos pueblos de la comarca de la Ciudad de los Angeles." Mariano Cuevas, Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México (Mexico, 1914), p. 434. Indications of pre-Conquest epidemics are not uncommon. See Papeles de Nueva España, IV, 236, for Guatulco, and VI, 220, for Teotihuacan.

^{**} Juan de Torquemada, Monarquia indiana (Madrid, 1723), I, 643. Escobar, Americana Thebaida (Mexico, 1924), p. 3. Dávila Padilla, Historia de la . . . provincia de Santiago de Mexico (Madrid, 1625), pp. 516-518. Francesco Saverio Clavigero, Storia antica del Messico . . . (Cesena, 1780), IV, 282. Clavigero may have had access to the mortality lists kept in each settlement by order of Viceroy Enríquez (Dávila Padilla, op. cit., pp. 100, 516-518).

⁸⁸ See note 78.

August, rapidly attained a climax in September, and did not spend its force until the end of 1577.84 The disaster was general throughout New Spain and New Galicia, from northeastern Mexico to Yucatán. The symptoms of infection were stomach pains, violent coughing and high fever; death came after six or seven days.85 All ages and classes of Indians were affected,86 although the Spaniards seemed immune.87 Famine, as always, accompanied the infection, and deaths were so numerous that the corpses were buried in trenches. Relief work was organized by the friars and by civilians, with support from the viceregal government. Hostile Indians sought to turn the crisis to their advantage, and attempts were made to infect the Europeans by throwing corpses into the water supply, or by kneading infected blood into the bread.88

The nearly constant presence of disease naturally perturbed the white colonists, although an epidemic was no novelty for Europeans of the sixteenth century. It was rather more the normal condition of civilized society. Troels-Lund estimates that the nations of the time were more steadily and disastrously swept by epidemic diseases than at any other time in modern history.89 Typhus, pox, the sweating disease (1529), bubonic plague (1552-1564), and influenza (1580-1582) were not the occasional ailments of vulnerable individuals; they were the diseases of the whole European community. A nation, such as Spain or England, suddenly fell ill, agonized, and recovered, but meanwhile the disease had swept communities bare, sometimes taking the children, sometimes the oldsters, or only the women, but more generally leaving an exhausted fraction of the population to bury the dead and renew the life of the community. The phenomenon

⁸⁴ Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), Ramo Historia, Vol. XIV. Providencia singular del Señor Moya y peste en México, 1575. 2½ MS folios (eighteenth-century copy).

⁸⁵ Papeles de Nueva España, IV, 137, VI, 258-259.

⁸⁶ Anales de Tecamachalco, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁷ Annales de . . . Chimalpahin, pp. 288-291.

⁸⁸ Dávila Padilla, Historia . . . (Madrid, 1625), pp. 516-518.

^{**} Troels-Lund, Gesundheit und Krankheit in der Anschauung alter Zeiten (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 217 ff.

was therefore not unfamiliar to the colonists, and they accepted it as an ineradicable condition of communal existence. Many remedial measures were taken to abate the severity of disaster, obtained but on the whole, contemporary texts indicate that the colonists were far more agitated about the social causes of loss than about disease itself.

The other great primary cause of depopulation has evoked much controversy. In brief, it may be designated as the "homicidal theory" of loss, and its best-known publicist was the Dominican Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. The title of Las Casas's famous tract, Breve Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias Occidentales, 91 is an epitome of the homicidal theory, which attempts to assign all losses of population to direct action—to the bestial cruelty of the Spanish colonists, and their systematic slaughter of enormous masses of the Indian population. Torture and overwork and massacre were the chief instruments of mass homicide, with the result that the Breve Relación is a catalogue of horrors. containing no mention of disease. Las Casas's attention was mainly devoted to conditions in the Antilles, where, in his opinion, in 1552, of three million Indians on Española at the time of the Discovery, only two hundred remained alive. 92 Las Casas felt that the situation was less incriminating in Mexico, 93 but he insisted that between 1518 and 1530 four millions had been slaughtered there, and in 1519 thirty thousand were massacred in Cholula alone.94 Two facts should be kept in

^{°°} Such remedial measures were the moderation of tribute, private philanthropies, the foundation of hospitals, and the institution of certain forms of government relief. See Ciriaco Pérez de Bustamante, Don Antonio de Mendoza, primer virrey de la Nueva España (1535-1550), Santiago, 1928, pp. 108-109.

⁹¹ Lesley Byrd Simpson has provided an admirable study of the history of this remarkable work. The Encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley, 1929), pp. 1-18. The edition used here: Breve relación de la destrucción de las Indias Occidentales (London, 1812).

ºº Breve relación (London, 1812), p. 15.

[°]s Colección de las obras del venerable obispo de Chiapa, Don Bartolomé de las Casas, ed. J. A. Llorente (Paris, 1822), I, 198. Las Casas wrote as follows: 'El único punto en que se han (sc. las crueldades) disminuido es Méjico: allí hay justicia, y las inhumanididades públicas no son toleradas: las exacciones de tributos son inmensas é insoportables, pero los homicidios no son tan frecuentes.''

º4 Breve relación (London, 1812), pp. 47-48.

mind. Las Casas never experienced the fury of any of the great epidemics. In 1520-1521, he was engaged in the foundation of the ill-starred colony of the Knights of the Golden Spur on the Pearl Coast of Venezuela, but while in 1531 he resided in Española and in Nicaragua. In addition, the bulk of the humanitarian literature he issued in order to secure legislative reforms was written before the development of statistical knowledge regarding the Indies. Las Casas may have witnessed isolated incidents in which the Spaniards behaved cruelly, and he knew of many more through hearsay, have at no time could he have had access to accurate accounts of population loss, for the simple reason that no such accounts existed.

The homicidal theory nevertheless bears some relation to a reality that we may reconstruct from other sources. As we have seen, torture, overwork, and murder were the means employed by the Spaniards, in Las Casas's concept, to destroy the Indian populations. In this form, it was a massive and undifferentiated theory, which assigned effects of an unknown magnitude to direct, malevolent action. The encomendero lashed his Indians to death, buried them alive, loaded their bodies to the breaking point, or else he murdered them with knife and gun. Las Casas admitted no indirect causes that might lie beyond the control of the indicted party. Later in the century, however, it is of the greatest interest to behold this blunt doctrine analyzed, refined, and made accurately descriptive in the hands of civil servants, whose commissions probably derived in part from the agitation aroused in Spain by Las Casas's writings.

The treatment of the question by the learned and intelligent Auditor Alonso de Zorita⁹⁹ is worth close attention. In

⁰⁵ L. B. Simpson, The encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley, 1929), p. 142.

oe Ibid., p. 144.

⁹⁷ L. B. Simpson has shown how Las Casas appropriated the experiences of eye-witnesses other than himself. The Encomienda in New Spain, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁸ See pp. 617-618.

⁹⁹ Alonso de Zorita, "Historia de la Nueva España" (ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz), Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de America (Vol. IX, Madrid, 1909). "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellos en la Nueva España . . . ," Nueva colección de

general, Zorita interpreted excessive mortality as a function of economic extortion. For the concept of direct homicide, he substituted a far richer social interpretation. Thus he catalogued the examples of extravagant forced labor conducive to a high death rate. Among these were the great public works, an excessive rate of tribute, heavy labor in the mines, in personal services, in the cultivation of certain crops, such as cocoa and sugar cane, and in military duty. Zorita even assigned pestilence to these various causes, and he was perhaps not far from the mark. It is to be noted for instance that reform legislation as regards forced labor (the Nuevas Leyes) preceded the longest recess from epidemic during the century, from 1546 to 1573. Zorita's views were held by other students of the problem, notably Motolinia and Mendieta.

It will be noticed, however, that the homicidal theory, whether in its absolute or in its relative and differentiated form, always was proffered by individuals or groups who were pro-Indian and anti-encomendero—a party, in short, closely affiliated with the humanitarian (and anti-feudatory) tendencies prevalent in Court circles. But it is not enough merely to have declared that population was destroyed by direct action and by inhumane economic treatment, that is, by restating the case of the special pleaders of the sixteenth century. The precise ways in which cause and effect were en-

documentos para la historia de México (Vol. III, Mexico, 1891). Zorita composed his historical writings in Spain, during his old age, between 1567 and 1585, after ten years' residence in New Spain (1556-1566).

^{100 &}quot;Breve y sumaria relación . . . ," p. 199. "Esta gente en común en todas las indias se va disminuyendo y acabando . . . dejan perdidas sus casillas y haciendillas . . . andan vagando . . . 6 se meten en los montes . . . y algunos se han ahorcado de desesperados, por la gran aflicción que tenían con los tributos y cobranza de ellos; y yo lo averigüé andando visitando. . . ."

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 169-193.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 181-182, ''. . . per los malos tratamientos que les hacen, vuelven á sus casas desconcertados, é así nunca les falta todo el año y toda la vida pestilencia, porque no cesa la causa y causas de ella.''

¹⁰³ On the Nuevas Leyes, see Pérez Bustamante, Don Antonio de Mendosa (Santiago, 1928), pp. 87-98; Silvio Zavala, La encomienda indiana, pp. 88-114; L. B. Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain, pp. 167-190.

¹⁰⁴ Memoriales de fray Toribio de Motolinia, pp. 17-28. Mendieta, Historia

meshed have not yet been described, nor have we an adequate concept of the actual kinds of loss.

In gross outline, then, it becomes apparent that in addition to the primary causes of loss—a high incidence of epidemic disease that is possibly related to homicidal forms of economic exploitation—there were other determinants operating to achieve high mortality in oblique ways. Such causes are of two distinct kinds; those deriving from the dislocation of Indian culture, with attendant cultural shock, and those deriving from the reorientation of Indian culture—into the channels of a Christian society, an absolute State, and a mercantile economy. Both were powerful agents for depopulation.

The losses due to the phenomena of reorientation are fairly obvious ones. It should be emphasized that such losses occurred not directly because of the greed and ill-will of the colonists, but because they were part of the price of any cultural reorganization, however benevolent in intention. For example, the establishment of Christianity in America necessitated an extraordinary program of urban resettlement. As Robert Ricard has pointed out, no effective indoctrination could be carried on until the tribespeople had been gathered into towns and villages.105 But it was precisely in such settlements that disease struck most heavily. The struggle to urbanize the Indians was therefore an important theme of controversy among the clergy. Some, like Mendieta, complained that the failures of the colonial enterprise were largely due to inadequate urbanization, 106 while others, both among the regular and secular clergy, attributed these failures to excessive town life. 107 The supporters of intensive urbanization valued

¹⁰⁵ Robert Ricard, "La "conquête" spirituelle du Mexique (Paris, 1933), pp. 195-212.

¹⁰⁶ Mendieta, Historia ecclesiastica indiana, p. 496. Compare the opinion of the Augustinian prior of Tlachinolticpac, in the mountains of the present state of Hidalgo, about 1569, "... está este pueblo dividido en pueblos tan pequeños, porque la fragosidad y aspereza de la tierra no sufre menos, ni permite hazer mayores congregaciones de pueblos." Papeles de Nueva España, III, 135.

of Indians into urban groups as the major cause for the drop in population. Historia de la provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de Michoacan (Mexico, 1673),

the moral effects of close daily contact with the Christian ritual, but its opponents argued that changes of habitat damaged the health and impeded the agricultural production of the Indians. Neither faction was entirely right, for the correct solution to the problem was always dependent upon local conditions. In practice, some areas were too heavily urbanized for economic benefit, and others were too thinly settled for the moral advantages of town life to accrue to the inhabitants. In any case, disease took a heavy toll in the towns and cities, as we know from the table of encomienda populations. The proportional magnitude of such losses, however, is difficult to estimate. It is worth noting at least, that in the Bishopric of Tlaxcala more large Indian cities existed than in the other dioceses, and reference to Figure 3 will show that Tlaxcala, of the four great bishoprics, participated least in the process of recovery between 1546 and 1575.

Another case demonstrating the pernicious effects of a change whose implicit purpose was benevolent, is suggested by the large number of Indian complaints regarding change of diet. 108 The new food plants and animals introduced by the colonists had not only altered the basic Indian diet very considerably, but led to an increase in the amounts of food taken each day. In the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579-1581 the Indian spokesmen all condemned this dietary change, alleging that their people lived longer on the simple diet of antiquity. The use of hot foods, and the taking of much meat were particularly blamed.

As to losses deriving from the dislocation of Indian culture, no quantitative measure of any kind is suggested by the That such losses occurred, nevertheless, is apparent from the nature of the colonization of America. As the reorientation of Indian life was achieved, numerous symptoms of a state of shock among the affected peoples became evi-

108 Papeles de Nueva España, IV, 116, 141; V, 94, 145; VI, 111, 119, 135,

265, 315.

pp. 116b, 117a. Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar felt likewise about conditions in the bishopric of Puebla. Memoriales del obispo de Tlaxcala, 1608-1624. MS copy (47 folios) by F. del Paso y Troncoso, in the Museo Nacional, Mexico

dent. These symptoms usually took the form either of violently destructive action, or of a lowered vitality and will to survive.

Systematic abortion and infanticide, as well as mass suicides, were reported from several areas. In Michoacán, for instance, a certain sorcerer was said to have induced crowds of bewitched Indians to kill themselves. 109 Alonso de Zorita. knew of many cases of Indian suicide to escape the payment of an impossible tribute, and he also cited the numerous abortions and the general refusal to procreate among the Mixe and Chontal Indians. 110 In western Mexico as well. Lebrón de Quiñones found that the Indian women had been ordered not to conceive, that many refrained from intercourse, and that abortion was regularly practiced, to ensure the rapid disappearance of the tribe. 111 These are perhaps no more than isolated and sporadic instances, but they be peak a general disintegration of the vital forces of the Indian race that also took much less radical forms. Drunkenness, for example, became alarmingly common, as reported by the Indian informants of 1579-1581, and it appears to have been the drunkenness of despair and frustration.112

The history of the many Indian revolts during the century may also be construed as a phenomenon of cultural shock. Such revolts were severely punished, and the depopulation of certain areas may reasonably be attributed to Spanish reprisals. The uprisings were especially common at the periphery of the colony. The most famous of these border revolts was the so-called "Mixton" war of 1541. It originated in western Mexico, in the province of Tepic, and rapidly spread towards central and southern Mexico. Its object was to crush

¹⁰⁰ Juan de Grijalva, Crónica de la orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de la Nueva España. En quatro edades desde el año de 1533 hasta el de 1592 (2nd ed., Mexico, 1924-1930), p. 217.

¹¹⁰ "Breve y sumaria relación . . . ," pp. 192, 195.

¹¹¹ Lebrón de Quiñones, Visita a Colima, 1551-1554, MS copy (F. del Paso y Troncoso) in Museo Nacional, Mexico City, fol. 8.

¹¹² Papeles de Nueva España, VI, 16-17, 29, 37, 57, 91, 111, 147, 163, 227.
Zorita, op. cit., p. 173.

¹¹³ C. Pérez de Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 73-85.

Spanish control of New Spain, and its technique consisted in raids of bitter violence. Viceroy Mendoza himself commanded an expedition to quell the revolt, and in the process, large Indian groups were eradicated. Smaller disturbances broke out in Oaxaca during 1547-1548, and again in 1550.¹¹⁴ In northwestern Mexico they recurred periodically, as in 1560 among the Zacatecas Indians of the Llerena-Sombrerete region.¹¹⁵

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Our central problem still remains to be discussed. How may the chiastic relationship between population movement and general cultural activity be resolved? A striking disharmony between the factors of historical life is implied, a disharmony that violates the accepted notion of historical happening as an integrally harmonious process. It is not infrequently assumed that history contains ages of "decline," in which all the forms of existence appear uniformly and consistently decadent. It is a common belief, again, that ascendant cultures or epochs contain no phases of disintegration, and that all the strands of happening lie neatly parallel rather than inextricably tangled and uneven. Yet every moment in history is obviously at once a process of building and unbuilding; decay and integration are simultaneous processes, and rarely are they to be witnessed more clearly at work than in America during the sixteenth century. For as colonial life assumed its characteristic forms, the Indian cultures disintegrated. It is not simply a matter of displacement, in which one existing culture edged another out of being. Colonial life in the sixteenth century was a tertium quid, an unprecedented phenomenon of shock, resulting in a cultural pattern whose future stability remained imponderable. Hence none of the durable forms of colonial life was realized until after the opposition of Indian and European

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 110-111.

¹¹⁵ Documentos sobre Nueva Galicia, MS copy (F. del Paso y Troncoso) in the Museo Nacional, Mexico City. See also López de Velasco, op. cit., p. 276, regarding an analogous revolt in Culiacán, and Epistolario, II, 32, for a minor revolt in the region of Cuscotitlán in 1531.

cultures had developed problems to which the solutions were desperately needed.

In the first place, an attempt should be made to place the great losses of population in their proper perspective, from the point of view of the white colonists of the period. It is beyond question that epidemic disease was the most efficient single cause of loss, and all authorities referred to it as such. without, however, revealing any sense of defeat or any lessening of their intention to remain in the country. The imperatives of colonial action were never weakened. It should perhaps be recalled that larger human groups react to disease somewhat as do individuals. From a state of well-being and normal activity, the organism is thrown into a condition of lowered vitality and limited effort. Normal affairs cease, the perspective alters, values change. A diseased state becomes normal, until recovery, when the organism is once again capable of full activity. The readjustment seems slow, and yet, after normal tempo has been resumed, little sense of loss survives. The disease appears only as a vaguely terrible interlude, as an interruption few of whose consequences were permanently registered. A sense of continuity between the broken phases of healthy life is gradually asserted, and the memory of sufferings through endless weeks, months, or years is ultimately effaced.

Then again, widespread disease has the valuable effect of heightening the social conscience of the members of the community. Differences, factions, strife and discontent evaporate when the agglomeration is at grips with a common danger. All the symbols and rituals of social experience are affirmed with new vehemence. The religious behavior of the crowds may suddenly assume new and ecstatic forms of singular extravagance, as with the flagellant cults of fourteenth-century Europe and sixteenth-century Mexico. And after the cleans-

¹¹⁶ Annales de Chimalpahin (Paris, 1889), p. 301. In 1583, on Good Friday, ''les religieux dominicains et les Espagnols firent de nouveau une procession; on célébra la passion de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, et l'on fit un enterrement magnifique après avoir exposé toutes les souffrances de N.-S. Dieu dans la passion. Jamais il ne s'était fait pareille chose dans les diverses églises de Mexico.'' This is the first recorded performance of the sufferings of the Passion

ing scourge, the community emerges diminished and weary, but with many problems resolved by the fact of having gained distance from them.

It is true that neither pestilence nor depopulation held the terrors of novelty for Spaniards of the sixteenth century. With epidemic disease they were amply familiar, and population loss at home in Spain had frequently troubled many alert minds. An ample literature grew upon the theme of depopulation, concerned mainly with its economic effects and cures.¹¹⁷ The great difference is, that whereas very little was done in Spain to remedy the evil, in the American colonies extraordinary efforts were made to concentrate and stabilize the surviving population, and to remedy or reform the chief causes of loss.¹¹⁸

The nature of the relationship between these remedial efforts and the decline of population may provide the answer to our central problem. In general, the most suggestive implication of the material presented in this paper concerns the actual rate of loss. It was clearly not an unremitting process. A great population at the time of the Conquest was in effect reduced by 1600 to a fraction of its former size, but the intermediary stages did not compose a steady diminution. On the contrary, the encomienda lists reveal that an abrupt decline alternated with a rapid recovery, and that the processes of recovery were generally thorough enough to offset the crippling effect of the great losses.

Of some significance should be the fact that the moments of sharp decline coincided with the most active campaigns of legislative reform and material construction. In the decade of the 1540's, so afflicted by the pestilence of 1545, we find vigorous agitation for a reasonable tribute, to be based upon accurate geographical and statistical knowledge. Private philanthropy assumed sizeable proportions; the foundation

in America, in a form which has since assumed the literal extravagance of full representation in the Penitente cult of New Mexico.

¹¹⁷ See René Gonnard, Histoire des doctrines de la population (Paris, 1923), pp. 98-101.

¹¹⁸ L. B. Simpson, Many Mexicos (New York, 1941), pp. 121, 177; Pérez Bustamante, Don Antonio de Mendoza, pp. 108-109.

of hospitals proceeded apace, and the great reform of the decade was, of course, the incomplete but humane revision of the tenure of encomienda proposed by the New Laws. 119 During the decade of the 1570's again, the major epidemic of 1576 seems to be the nucleus of another constellation of legislative and judiciary reforms, such as the court of appeals for Indian litigation (Juzgado de Indios), 120 and the later creation of the Court of Congregation, 121 designed to concentrate and stabilize the surviving native populations.

A certain correlation is also apparent between decline and the building activity of the religious orders. This activity does not mean simply the building of churches; it signifies the layout and construction of entire settlements according to rudimentary concepts of regional planning. It has been pointed out elsewhere that as population dwindled, the volume of architectural activity increased. 122 At the time of the plague of 1531, the Franciscans engaged upon a most extensive campaign of building, in some twenty districts. By 1538, a contraction occurred. Many conventual settlements were reduced to vicarates, and all building for a while conformed to more modest patterns. About 1545, however, the Augustinians undertook their most ambitious constructions, and the decade of the 1570's was marked by intense Dominican activity in southern Mexico. Thus the greatest number of architectural projects was in progress at the time of the most severe losses of population. Was such activity a cause or an effect of decline in number? The correct answer depends upon how we assess the intentions of the building friars. It is not unlikely that the friars regarded a well-regulated community life as essential to the health of the inhabitants. Such a community life could develop only in well-planned, well-built towns. 123 In any case, whether it be cause or effect, the cul-

¹¹⁹ See notes 90, 103.

¹²⁰ Lesley Byrd Simpson, "The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala," Iberoamericana, XIII (1938), 22-23.

¹²¹ Simpson, Iberoamericana, VII (1934), 29-129.

¹²³ Kubler, "Some Mexican Architects and Builders," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, forthcoming issue.

¹²⁸ See notes 77, 105. Construction activity will, of course, promote immediate contagion, but it will also diminish the chances of future contamination among a population adequately supplied with drinking water and suitable shelter.

tural pattern of colonial Mexico is predominantly an urban pattern, integrated during the sixteenth century.

Hence population decline and the positive definition of colonial life appear to be functionally related. Institutional improvement and a great material production were the alternating phases of a humane colonial policy, animated by the Crown's inflexible sense of obligation to the humanity of America, and stimulated by repeated disaster.

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THE FIRST APOSTOLIC MISSION TO CHILE

When the Spanish colonies in America had won their independence there were inherent in the situation serious questions concerning their relation to the Roman Catholic church. The jurisdiction of the Spanish monarchs had included the right of patronage. They received control over tithes and the right to fill ecclesiastical benefices (or had their rights recognized, according to the point of view) in bulls issued by Popes Alexander VI and Julius II. The rulers regarded the real patronato de Indias a most precious regalia of the crown. guarded it jealously, and were active in performing the duties of maintaining the church and spreading the faith. The real patronato, broad in scope, became very complex and included almost every phase of ecclesiastical government. So extensive were the powers of the crown under it, that for all practical purposes the king stood in the place of the pope for the church in America.

When the establishment of independence by the former colonies of Spain interrupted the exercise of the power over the church in America by the Spanish kings, a general question developed; namely, whether the rights reverted to the papacy or became attributes of the new sovereignties in America. The new government had out of practical necessity to take over many of the functions of the crown with regard to the church. There naturally arose the question of the legality, from the standpoint of the church, of the actions of the newly formed states as well as the question of their recognition. Did the states inherit as a necessary adjunct to their sovereignty the privileges, prerogatives, and powers held by their predecessors, the Spanish kings? Or did the real patronato de Indias return to the popes whence, according to the canonist view, it originated?

The cleavage of opinion and the foundations of the argu-

¹ Recopilación de las leyes de Indias (2 vols., Madrid, 1841), lib. I, tít. 6, leyes 1-6; lib. II, tít. 18, ley 20; Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español (edited by M. A. Fuentes, 6 vols., Lima, 1859), I, 118-119; II, 4; III, 103; VI, 10.

ments for one position or the other long preceded the wars for independence. Since the time of the bull, *Universae ecclesiae*, conceded by Julius II in 1508, the title of the Spanish kings was not questioned, but commentators have differed long and inconclusively as to the basis of the title. The regalist has maintained that the right is the logical and necessary consequence of political sovereignty. His position has rested in general on the fundamental proposition that the sovereignty of the state transcends any other authority. The regalist has held that the general right of patronage proceeded necessarily from the foundation, construction, and endowment of churches rather than by way of reward from the papacy for services. It might also accrue to the sovereign from conquest.²

The canonist school has held that the right of patronage is a spiritual one and that its origin is the will of the pope. According to the canonist argument, general patronage, including the presentation of bishops, has resulted only from papal concession plus the right by common law; therefore the actual source of the real patronato de Indias was apostolic grant.³ According to this view, the patronage would, then, return to the papacy when the kings of Spain could no longer exercise it.

In the arguments of the regalists, the statesmen of the new nations found a theoretical basis for their claims, to the patronage already worked out, widely accepted, and easily adapted to their situation. The national government created in 1810 by the revolution in Chile proceeded to pass laws and set up regulations affecting the church on the assumption that it had the right to the powers exercised by the Spanish kings. It was not until 1821 that Chile began to make overtures to Rome. But during the revolution and subsequent years of

² V. G. Quesada, Derecho de natronato (Buenos Aires, 1910), passim; L. Ayarragaray, La iglesia en América y la dominación española (Buenos Aires, 1920), particularly chapter VI; J. F. Legón, Doctrina y ejercicio del patronato nacional (Buenos Aires, 1920), pp. 211-233; J. de Solórzano y Pereyra, Política indiana (Velenzuela, Madrid, 1776), passim.

P. M. Gómez Zamora, Regio patronato español o indiano (Madrid, 1897), pp. 146-147, 289; J. A. Godfrey, The Right of Patronage according to Canon Law (Washington, 1924), p. 24.

adjustment many situations arose involving the right of the state to the powers over the church, raising the question of their extent, and showing the need for the resumption of relations with the papacy.

The first organ of self-government in Chile was set up in 1810 in the name of the exiled sovereign, Ferdinand VII, and with an appeal to religious sentiment on the ground that the action was compatible with the principles of the church. The various Chilean administrations, both before and after the Spanish reconquest (1814-1817), took particular care to observe certain religious practices in opening Congress and in other governmental ceremonies. The government naturally wished the support of the clergy—a powerful element in a strongly religious society—and made various attempts to gain it. Nevertheless, few prominent ecclesiastics supported the revolution.

The National Congress and its successors, the Senates of 1812 and 1814, proceeded actively to legislate along lines affecting the church. Efforts to abolish the fees charged by the parish priests known as derechos parroquiales were unsuccessful and the problem remained to plague succeeding administrations. The governor of the diocese of Santiago, José Santiago Rodríguez Zorilla, a powerful opponent of the revolution who had been in conflict with the new government, complicated matters when he became bishop after the Spanish forces regained control temporarily in 1814, by restoring the fees as one of his first official acts.

Another serious problem of the period was that of reform

^{&#}x27;Colección de historiadores i de documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile (Santiago de Chile, 1900-1911), XVIII, 206-210.

^o Sesiones de los cuerpos lejislativos (37 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1886-1908), I, 22, 33, 35, 42, 92-94.

[°] Colección de historiadores, XVIII, 107-109; C. Silva Cotapos, Don José Santiago Rodríguez Zorilla (Santiago de Chile, 1915), p. 62. Circular of Rodríguez to the parish priests.

⁷ Boletín de las leyes i decretos de Chile, 1810-1814 (reprinted, Santiago de Chile, 1898-1901), pp. 138-139; Sesiones, I, 95, 97, 101-103, 138, 140, 142, 150, 278-279.

⁸ Esposición de los documentos y motivos para el decreto de estrañamiento del territorio de la república del obispo de esta diócesis D. José Santiago Rodríguez (compiled by J. Campino, Santiago de Chile, 1826), p. 6.

of the regular orders. The demoralization among them was long standing and publicly scandalous. Moreover, since the members of the orders were independent of the jurisdiction of the bishops, and since the break with Spain made it impossible to allow them to be controlled as previously by the generals of the orders who resided in Spain, the question arose as to what authority they were subject. The efforts to effect reforms, begun in 1811, were continued in 1818 and 1819 when the legislative body gave the problem lengthy consideration without accomplishing more than minor changes in the situation. The problem was one of those with which the apostolic vicar attempted to deal after his arrival in Chile.

A constitution promulgated in 1812, the first of a series adopted in Chile, stated in Article I that "The Catholic, Apostolic Religion is and always will be that of Chile." Rodríguez objected to the omission of the word Roman and to Article V which provided that no decree or act of any authority outside of Chile had any effect within her borders. The latter objection was natural; it was the basis of the refusal of the government to pass the bulls of institution which were issued in accordance with the presentation made to the Pope by the Spanish regency and which would have made him bishop of Santiago. His delayed recognition came in 1818 when the Spanish were again in control.¹¹

After the Spanish soldiers were driven out in 1817, the relations between Church and State remained troubled. Spain had not given up her claim to the right of patronage in the former colonies, but the practical fact remained that she could not exercise it. The lessons in regalism proved valuable and the various states adopted as the natural solution the theory that the patronage was a right inherent in sovereignty. But their views had no force outside their borders. The papacy wished to act so as to hold the good will of the new

[•] Sesiones, I, 135-136, 355-356; II, passim; IV, 14.

¹⁰ J. Bañados Espinosa, Constitutiones de Chile, Francia, Estados Unidos, República Argentina, Brazil, Bélgica, Inglaterra, y Suiza (Santiago de Chile, 1889), p. 488. It was restored in the constitution of 1818. Sesiones, II, 10.

¹¹ Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, p. 90; Rodríguez to the King, quoted in ibid., Appendix VII, p. 337.

American states and to prevent them from forming national churches. At the same time it could not afford to offend Spain whose ancient devotion to the church merited great consideration. There remained, moreover, the possibility that she might regain effective control over some part of America. After receiving an appeal from the Spanish government for aid in regaining the colonies, Pope Pius VII addressed to the American prelates the bull of January 30. 1816, exhorting them to use their influence in the name of religion against the revolutionaries. On one occasion the Spanish government made known that it would look with disfavor on the reception by the papacy of any petition sent to it by a congress meeting in Buenos Aires. The Cardinal-Secretary of State replied that the Pope would not approve of the deliberations of the congress or receive any appeal from it.12 For several years there was little opportunity for the new republics to treat with the papacy.

Although the internal situation in Chile made it desirable, the O'Higgins government, established after the defeat of the Spanish in February, 1818, found it necessary to postpone any effort to reach a settlement with the papacy. As a consequence, the government continued the efforts of the earlier administrations to deal directly with the local problems growing out of relations between church and state. O'Higgins assumed the regalist point of view; and in making some presentations for ecclesiastical benefices, he stated that he did so in accordance with the 'national patronage' which was united with the supreme authority of the state. 13

The newly established government found Rodríguez, now a bishop, still firmly opposed to the republican régime. O'Higgins took immediate steps to strengthen the position of the government. On February 26, 1817, he communicated to Rodríguez the decision of the government to exile him and several other ecclesiastics. A Rodríguez was required to name as governor of the bishopric a person of O'Higgins' choice.

¹² Ayarragaray, La iglesia en América, pp. 175-176, note 1.

¹⁸ Boletín, 1817-1818, pp. 356-357. August 8, 1818.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁵ O'Higgins to Vivar, quoted in L. Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario

The see of Concepción also came under government control when O'Higgins ordered the remaining ecclesiastics of the region to elect a governor to serve for Bishop Villodres who had fled in 1816. Thus in two bold moves O'Higgins did much to prevent further open resistance among the clergy to his régime. But the irregular situation with regard to the administration of the two sees constituted a serious problem, and the action of the government engendered resentment which was potent if not open.

The necessity for some sort of reckoning with Rodríguez had only been postponed. His personal influence and his connection with an important family kept alive the issue. Long negotiations culminated in 1821 in the decision of the government to allow him to return to Chile, but it withheld from him the full jurisdiction over his diocese for another year. It was too much to expect, however, that suspicion had been fully allayed. Difficulties and misunderstandings remained which complicated the relations of the government with the apostolic vicar and influenced the outcome of his mission.

Other activities of the government stressed the anomalous condition existing with regard to relations with the papacy and raised questions concerning the power of the state over ecclesiastical affairs. New attempts to reform the regular clergy amounted to little, and the effort to impose a tax on the clergy and to require the church to bear part of a proposed tax on land met with strenuous opposition. The Senate also regulated the control of cemeteries, changed the liturgy to suit the independent status of the government, and united the National Institute and the ecclesiastical Seminary. It proposed to continue the practice of the sale of the bulls of

apostólico don Juan Muzi (Santiago de Chile, 1883), p. 38, note 1; Esposición, pp. 7-8.

¹º "Memorial presentado por Cienfuegos a la santa sede acerca el estado político y religioso de Chile," Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, p. 342.

¹⁷ Esposición, pp. 1, 8-10; Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, p. 170; Sesiones, VI, 86, 104, 106.

¹⁰ Sesiones, II, 411, 439, 446; III, 331-333; IV, 22.

¹⁰ Boletin, 1817-1818, pp. 254-255; ibid., 1819-1820, pp. 105-106, 177-178; ibid., 1821-1822, pp. 98-102; Sesiones, II, 352, 353-366.

the crusade and decided to attempt to reform the customs accompanying their sale. In the colonial period a portion of the funds had customarily gone into the public treasury—a source of income the Senate did not wish to forego. There were vigorous protests from the clergy against the actions of the government and much argument about its right to proceed with the measures.²⁰

The continued friction with the clergy was highly undesirable; it was, in fact, so dangerous that it might result in a reaction against the new régime among the devout Catholic people. The situation of the church required some action and it would be politically expedient to establish relations with Rome. In 1821 the government of Chile decided that the time had come to make a direct appeal to the papacy. The liberal revolt in Spain and the needs of the church in America created favorable conditions.

The new political order in Chile, according to the proceedings of the Senate, had inevitably produced changes in ecclesiastical matters. Although it held that the various measures taken had been based on the canons and the discipline of the church, it was desirable that those measures receive the approbation of the Pope. The Senate expressed the belief that it was necessary to establish an ecclesiastical régime in conformity with the sovereign rights of the people and to establish the patronage. The Senate, moreover, wished to offer homage to the Pope and to demonstrate the respect and allegiance of the Chilean people and their will to sustain the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as the exclusive religion of Chile. As a result of these considerations it provided for a mission to Rome. To carry it out O'Higgins appointed a well-known cleric who had consistently supported the revolution, the archdeacon of the cathedral, José Ignacio Cienfuegos.21 Although doubtful about the outcome of the project, O'Higgins consented to it because of its popularity.22

Sesiones, III, 400; IV, 283-287; V, 400, 407, 433, 434, 441, 443, 482-485;
 Barros Arana, Historia jeneral de Chile (16 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1905-1926), XII, 439.

³¹ Sesiones, V, 121-122, 278, 281.

²³ Barros Arana, Historia jeneral, XII, 569.

Cienfuegos received detailed instructions. He had the duty of demonstrating to the Pope the recognition, respect, and obedience accorded to him by the Chilean people and the necessity for maintaining relations with him in order to conserve the Roman Catholic religion in Chile. He should ask that a nuncio be sent to Chile and that he be given jurisdiction over appeals in ecclesiastical cases including those involving the regular clergy. The government wished to be allowed the privilege of the bull of the crusade. He should ask for the concession of the patronage and the right over the tithes as granted to the Spanish kings. There were several articles in the instructions concerning an appeal for new bishoprics and for raising the see of Santiago to an archbishopric. If for political reasons it should prove inexpedient for the Pope to grant these requests concerning bishoprics. he should be asked to provide in the meanwhile two titular bishops (bishops in partibus infidelium).23 Other articles concerned the needed reform of the regular clergy.

Finally, Cienfuegos received instructions to ask for all the privileges and all the reforms in ecclesiastical matters that "the actual political circumstances, the splendor and the holiness of our religion and the honor and well-being of the new State of Chile require." If necessary, he might omit some of the requests or change them to suit the circumstances—provided, however, that he did not contravene the holy religion or the prerogatives and natural rights of the state.²⁴

Cienfuegos arrived in Genoa on June 19, 1822, whereupon Aparici, Spanish chargé in Rome, asked Ercole Consalvi, Cardinal-Secretary of State, for an assurance that the representative of Chile would not be received in diplomatic character. The Cardinal replied that political affairs would not be discussed with Cienfuegos, but the Pope would listen to reports concerning the spiritual situation in America. Consalvi charged the Archbishop of Genoa to let Cienfuegos know that the Pope would receive him only in an unofficial capacity as a person come to give him information about the church in

²⁸ The real patronato de Indias did not cover the appointment of bishops in partibus infidelium.

²⁴ Sesiones, V. 294-295.

Chile.²⁵ Upon arrival in Rome, August 3, Cienfuegos notified Consalvi who received him graciously and promised to do everything possible for Chile. Shortly afterwards, the Pope made similar promises in the course of an audience he accorded Cienfuegos.²⁶

At the suggestion of a papal official and in order to present the needs of his country and the purpose of his mission, Cienfuegos presented a detailed memorial to the papacy.²⁷ In the first section he reviewed the outstanding events of the wars of independence and the establishment of the new government. In the second, he reviewed the dominance of the Catholic religion in Spanish America since the conquest and stated that Chile recognized it as the exclusive religion of the state. He had made a recent tour through the diocese of Santiago, he said, but had not found a single person delinquent in faith despite the dangers growing out of revolution. He praised the clergy and reported that in Chile the rites of worship followed the sacred canons with only accidental variations. The cathedrals were well endowed, and the parish priests and regular elergy had sufficient income.

In the third section of his memorial, Cienfuegos reviewed the disturbances in ecclesiastical matters brought about by the revolution and the organization of the government. He petitioned for relief and proposed remedies which were substantially those which his instructions had indicated he should ask for.

In the fourth section he presented the arguments which he hoped would incline the Pope to accede to his appeals. He pointed out that if the spiritual needs of Chile were neglected, greater evils to religion than those resulting from the events of recent years might develop. They might even grow to the proportions of a schism. The Spanish government ought not to oppose the provision of measures for the good of religion in Chile; to do so would be a manifestation of irreligion.

²⁶ P. Leturia, La acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII (Madrid, 1925), pp. 188-189, 191.

²⁶ Cienfuegos to O'Higgins, September 3, 1822, in Barros Borgoño, *La misión del vicario apostólico*, pp. 321-324.

²⁷ Cienfuegos to Echevarría, September 4, 1822, in ibid., pp. 324-329.

Even if Spain should object to the point of separating from the papacy, that would be a lesser evil than the loss of the American countries with their vast areas and great populations. His Holiness would not be compromised, as some said, by providing for the spiritual needs of America, nor would such action involve the papacy in the political affairs of European sovereigns. Furthermore, the appeals of Chile could be granted without prejudice to the rights of any other nation. If Spain should regain America or any part of it, her right of patronage and other prerogatives would continue in full without the necessity for any new declarations on the part of the Holy See. He thought that in the circumstances neither Spain nor any of the sovereigns of Europe had the least right to remain in opposition to the action of the Pope.²⁸

Cienfuegos wrote to O'Higgins that he thought that the Pope would comply with their request and send an apostolic delegate to Chile. Cienfuegos felt, however, that he had reason to fear that the influence of those gathering for the Congress of Verona would be used against him. He noted the fact that several of them took occasion to show honor and respect to the Pope.²⁹ He had other reasons to fear for the successful outcome of his mission. There arrived in Rome some documents bitterly denouncing him and O'Higgins and the régime in Chile. But they were so rancorous and in some respects so obviously false that the author nullified his own object, and Cienfuegos was able to persuade the Pope to regard them as the work of malicious persons. The documents had no signature, but Cienfuegos held the opinion that Rodríguez was responsible for them. A few months later other communications, seemingly from the same source, were sent to the Pope with the intention of defaming Cienfuegos, but without success.30

Other conditions were favorable. By the end of 1822 the struggle for independence was nearly won. The disorganiza-

^{28 &}quot;Memorial presentado por Cienfuegos" in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 331-354.

²⁰ Cienfuegos to O'Higgins, September 3, 1822, in ibid., pp. 321-324.

^{*}O Cienfuegos to Echevarría, September 4, 1822 and April 17, 1823, in ibid., pp. 324-329, 354-356.

tion in Spain was so great that there was little likelihood that she would be able to recover her lost colonies. The papacy felt that further neglect of the church in America might result in the formation of national churches.

The proposals of Cienfuegos were considered at length by a special congregation of six cardinals. It was finally agreed that an apostolic delegate should be sent to Chile to care for the spiritual welfare of the people—the first envoy ever to be sent directly from the papacy to Spanish America. The first appointee declined and Giovanni Muzi was called from Vienna to undertake the task.31 Consalvi saw in the fact that Muzi would travel by way of Buenos Aires an opportunity for attempting to deal with the grave situation which existed there with regard to the church. Pedro Luis Pacheco, a friar from Argentina with no official connections, pleaded that the mission be enlarged to include his country. It was he, Pacheco, Leturia claims, who had first proposed the expedient of sending an apostolic delegate to the former colonies instead of a nuncio with diplomatic powers, and of naming titular bishops rather than proprietary bishops to serve in vacant sees in the new states.32 With other countries presenting needs similar to those of Chile, the mission was extended to include the greater part of Catholic America.33 Muzi received instructions to use his authority very sparingly but with the purpose of making those countries realize the need of becoming more closely attached to the papacy. He was warned to treat the legitimate bishops and ecclesiastical cabildos with great consideration, even to the point of refraining from the exercise of his authority, if in any of those countries the Spanish power remained or might be restored.34

On April 19, 1823, Cienfuegos received notice of the appointment of Muzi in a communication which stated the Pope had confidence that the Chilean authorities would not ask

³¹ G. Sallusti, *Historia de las misiones apostólicas de monseñor Musi en el estado de Chile* (Translated from the Italian. Santiago de Chile, 1906), pp. 7-8. Sallusti was secretary to Muzi. The other member of the mission was the canon D. Juan de los Condes Mastai, later Pope Pius IX.

⁸² Leturia, La acción diplomática de Bolívar, pp. 52, 203.

²⁸ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Leturia, La acción diplomática de Bolívar, pp. 203-204.

"anything which would compromise the Holy See with respect to the political relations which it must maintain with other nations." In reply Cienfuegos offered assurance that "the public authorities would not obstruct the apostolic vicar in the free exercise of his spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor would they ask him for anything which would compromise the Holy See in its political relations." Cienfuegos expressed himself as being satisfied with the choice of Muzi as the delegate.

Cienfuegos started on his way back. While he was still in Genoa news reached Italy of the overthrow of O'Higgins, which had occurred in January, 1823. Consalvi directed the Archbishop of Genoa to ask Cienfuegos for information concerning the character and intentions of the new government. Cienfuegos was ignorant of the situation. Believing that the new administration under Ramón Freire would receive the mission, he answered that no violence would be directed toward the apostolic vicar, nor would the Pope be compromised by any action of the government.³⁸

With regard to the outcome of his mission, Cienfuegos wrote O'Higgins, April 14, 1823, that the Pope

patronage for the presentation for canonries, curacies, and other benefices; the administration of the tithes in the manner in which the Spanish kings exercised it; the continuation of the bull of the crusade and the provision that there be named a commissary general who would have the same powers as the one who resides in Madrid. The apostolic delegate is to have final jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases including those involving the regular clergy. He is empowered to confirm the provisions of the chapters and the degrees taken by members of the regular orders; to appoint and consecrate three bishops who will be named by your Excellency and will be placed

^{**} Ibid., p. 198.

^{**} Francisco Durá, Misión para Hispano América confiada en 1823 por los papas Pío VII y León XII a instancias del gobierno de Chile al vicario apostólico monseñor Juan Muzi, Arzobispo de Felipos (Buenos Aires, 1924), Appendix C, pp. 180-182.

⁸⁷ Ceinfuegos to Echevarría, April 17, 1823, in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 354-355.

³⁸ Leturia, La acción diplomática de Bolivar, p. 200.

in the character of bishops in partibus in those places which seem most convenient to you and the apostolic delegate, and all this will be continued until our independence is recognized. . . . I am persuaded . . . that he [the Pope] cordially desires our independence. . . . 39

The letter, which was widely published in America, produced expectations for the outcome of the mission which proved almost wholly illusory. Cienfuegos' interpretation of the nature of Muzi's instructions, which he said he had seen. created the belief that the mission did have a political aspect and that the action of the Pope had been a recognition that the struggle for independence was not contrary to religious precepts. The fact that the government of Chile had a political object in making the appeal to Rome should not be overlooked, nor the essentially regalist attitude of the government. It may be said, then, that Cienfuegos' motive in writing the letter was that of representing his work as successful. He may not have deliberately misrepresented the situation, but at any rate he understood the papacy to make concessions that he and his government wanted. In doing so he created difficulties for the future relations of Muzi and the civil authorities. When the papacy learned of the letter, it was vigorously denied that Pope Pius VII had recognized that the movement for independence was compatible with the spirit of religion or that the struggle was not hostile to morality but tended to consolidate it, as claimed by the American press.40

The papal brief of July 28, 1823, in which Pope Pius VII gave Muzi his instructions, emphasized the spiritual character of the mission and the fact that it in no way prejudiced the real patronato of Spain. The spiritual aspect was demonstrated, moreover, by the fact that Muzi was named as an apostolic delegate without diplomatic character. But within its sphere the mission would have full power. Muzi was given power to correct the defects of jurisdiction of the cabildos, parish priests, ecclesiastical governors, and superiors of re-

³⁰ Cienfuegos to O'Higgins, in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix VII, pp. 340-342.

⁴⁰ Excerpt from the Gaceta oficial of Lima, December 6, 1823, in Leturia, La acción diplomática de Bolívar, pp. 207-208.

ligious orders which had resulted from changes due to the revolution; to secularize the members of religious orders; to reduce the number of feast days; to concede indulgences; and to deal with several other matters of minor importance. Three powers given him touched on the patronage: "he might concede the bulls of the crusade in the form used in colonial times; he should himself name, with the concurrence of the government, three apostolic vicars who would be consecrated in partibus; and he should permit the executive the use of the patronage in the presentation for ecclesiastical charges below the episcopal, but in this (and even in the designation of the apostolic vicars) the general patronage was not recognized," according to the historian Leturia.⁴¹

Pope Pius VII died before Muzi left Italy. While Muzi was still in Genoa, he received notice of the election of Leo XII and assurance that one of the first acts of the new Pope would be the confirmation of the mission. Shortly after Muzi's arrival in Buenos Aires on January 1, 1824, he received official notification of the election of Leo XII, confirmation of his instructions, and an autographed letter from the Pope to Ramón Freire, Supreme Director of Chile.⁴²

There were, then, from the outset two important circumstances which contributed to uncertainty and distrust. The administration which accredited Cienfuegos and asked for an apostolic mission was not the one which received it. The Pope who received Cienfuegos and decided to send the mission was not the one under whom it was carried out.

In Buenos Aires, the devoutly religious people gave Muzi and his companions a warm and demonstrative welcome. But the leaders looked on the mission with distrust. According to G. Sallusti, the popular demonstrations were so great that the officials feared a rebellion. On January 11 the minister Bernardino Rivadavia informed Mariano Zavaleta, governor of the bishopric, of the decision of the government to give Muzi his passports. In a communication to Muzi, Zavaleta

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 201-202.

⁴² Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, pp. 87, 229-230.
43 Ibid., pp. 225-228.

[&]quot;Bernardino Rivadivia to Mariano Zavaleta in Durá, Misión para Hispano América, Appendix D, p. 183.

accused him of having come to America to arouse the people and of wishing to exercise jurisdiction not rightfully his.⁴⁵ The apostolic vicar's brief stay in Buenos Aires ended on January 16, 1824. After his departure for Chile, the press in Buenos Aires attacked him vigorously, representing him as a minister of the Holy Alliance, and warned Chile against him.⁴⁶

While Muzi was in Buenos Aires, he learned of an act of the Chilean Senate which he interpreted as an indication of ill will toward the mission.47 The Senate, July 14, 1823, had considered revoking the powers given to Cienfuegos and to recall him from Rome. He should be notified that his mission was reduced to "reiterating and protesting anew the submission and loyalty of the government and the people of Chile to the visible head of the church and the religion of Jesus Christ." He might still ask for a new bishopric. The reasons given for the recall were: the expense of maintaining a papal delegate, which would be too great for the country at the time, and the unfortunate experience of other Catholic countries with nunciatures.48 The bill did not become a law, and it would have been too late to prevent Cienfuegos' performance of his commission, but it showed that the new administration entertained doubts concerning the wisdom of the action of its predecessor. Muzi had reason to fear that his welcome might be something less than wholehearted.

When Muzi arrived in Chile early in March, 1824, the government received him, according to his own account, with honor and splendor. ⁴⁹ At a public ceremony at the Palacio Directorial on March 7, he read the letter of good will which he brought from the Pope to Freire. ⁵⁰ The ceremonies con-

⁴⁵ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, p. 236.

⁴⁰ Excerpts from El Argos in Durá, Misión para Hispano América, Appendix F, pp. 186-187.

⁴⁷ Muzi, "Carta apologética," in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, p. 343.

⁴⁸ Sesiones, VII, 278.

^{49 &}quot;Carta apologética," in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, p. 344.

so Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, pp. 386-388. Durá says of this letter: "La sola dirección de este breve, al Sr. Ramón Freire, Publicarum rerum in ditione chilensi in proc sens supremo moderatori, constituye un reconocimiento del Gobierno, y aún de la República de Chile, como poder el primero y como estado la segunda,

tinued at the cathedral and concluded at the Palacio Directorial. Immediately afterwards, Muzi called on Bishop Rodríguez but did not call on Fernando Errázuriz, the Acting Director. Muzi felt some doubt about his procedure but decided that etiquette did not require him to call on the executive the same day. After a complaint from Errázuriz, who considered the action a slight to the government, the various requirements of etiquette were carried out to his satisfaction. But the incident introduced an element of friction in the relations of the civil authorities with Muzi, no doubt intensified by their distrust of Rodríguez.

Further ill feeling developed when Muzi was displeased with the Senate's arrangements concerning his compensation. The amount, 500 pesos monthly, was to be provided from the income of certain religious communities.⁵² Sallusti inferred from the fact that the government stipulated payment for each month the apostolic vicar should remain that it wished the mission to be of short duration. He also considered it a niggardly remuneration in comparison with those assigned a few months later to national officials.⁵³ In a review of the events of the mission, a newspaper of Chile said that Muzi considered the amount so small as to be a slight to his dignity.54 Muzi declared this allegation unjust and protested that he had at all times spoken of the generosity of the government. He insisted that he had objected because he did not want the funds of the clergy decreased in order to provide for his maintenance.⁵⁵ Muzi accepted the assignment on the explanation that the suspension of the canonry from which the income was derived was no new thing and that for a long time

al menos de facto. Es bien extraño que no fuera comprendido así desde el primero momento ni acogido con regocijo por los gobernantes in Sud America.'' Misión para Hispano América, pp. 26-27.

⁵¹ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, pp. 386-391.

⁵² Boletín de las leyes i decretos de Chile (95 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1823-1926), I, pp. 272-273.

⁵³ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, pp. 392-394; Boletín, II, 33-34, September 24, 1824.

⁵⁴ El Liberal (Santiago de Chile, 1824. Incomplete), October 22, 1824.

^{86 &}quot;Carta apologética," in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, p. 344.

a certain sum from the income of the religious community had gone into the national treasury.⁵⁶

Part of Cienfuegos' instructions had directed him to ask for the continuation of the bulls of the crusade. On March 22 Muzi informed the government that he had power to name a commissary general for their administration. The Pope had stipulated that the funds produced by their sale should be used for the conversion of the infidels in Chile.⁵⁷ The Senate asked that the right to sell the bull be given in perpetuity and announced that the appointment of a commissary general should be made with the previous presentation of the Supreme Several months later the minister of state re-Director.58 ferred the problem to a government official who said that it should be settled by the negotiation of a concordat. 59 The government asked Cienfuegos (who had become governor of the bishopric) for his view. In his opinion, the executive should name the commissary and the government should administer the funds, but they should be used for missionary purposes. 60 Not being able to agree, Muzi did not take any action until after his break with the government. From Valparaiso, October 29, 1824, he issued a rescript granting the privilege of the bull. His action did not become effective until more than a year later when the Chilean government approved the rescript.61

Other incidents contributed to the increasingly strained relations between the government and Muzi.⁶² No doubt the

^{**}Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 114-116. According to Barros Borgoño (p. 114, note 1), the correspondence from Muzi to the government is missing from the archives of the Ministry of the Interior where it had been placed. Durá states (Misión para Hispano América, pp. 41-42) that all but a few of the documents concerning Muzi have disappeared from the Argentinean archives.

⁸⁷ Muzi to the government, March 22, 1824, in F. S. Belmar, Carta demonstrativa del patronato nacional de la república de Chile (Santiago de Chile, 1883), pp. 100-101.

⁸⁸ Sesiones, IX, pp. 190, 203, 204, 296.

⁶⁹ Report of the Fiscal Elizalde, August 20, 1824, in Belmar, Carta demonstrativa, pp. 101-102.

⁶⁰ Cientuegos to Pinto, August 25, 1824, in ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁶¹ Boletín, II, pp. 301-302.

^{**} Barros Borgoño, a defender of the government in his work written from the regalist point of view, ascribed to Muzi a pastoral letter in which the author

situation was complicated by the fact that Muzi did not know Spanish. One of these incidents grew out of the decision of the government to have solemn religious rites performed in memory of Pope Pius VII. Instead of choosing a cleric of recognized patriotic sentiments to preach the sermon as advised by the minister of state, Rodríguez chose Manuel Mata who was noted for his opposition to the revolution. On April 8, before a gathering at the cathedral, he pronounced, according to the newspaper El Liberal, "the most insulting diatribe one could imagine. He justified the Holy Alliance in terms most injurious to the dignity of the country and called the Holy Allies the arms of the Omnipotent for suppressing revolution in the old world and the new and for re-establishing everything to its former state and being." The government punished the offender by exiling him. Muzi interceded for him and was harshly criticized for the action. Muzi protested that he had ignored the matter at the time and that he had asked that the sentence be made less severe only on the supplication of the parents of the priest.64 Those who feared the royalist proclivities of Rodríguez interpreted the incident as an indication of a plot against the government and were inclined to believe Muzi a party to it.65

The matter of secularization of the regular clergy which Muzi undertook also produced friction. When he began issuing briefs of secularization, the minister to whom the matter was referred refused to sanction them. Throwing

deplored the tendency in certain parts of America to form national churches and to attribute authority to the bishops which belonged to the pope. The author of the document denounced the efforts to reform the regular clergy. Barros Borgoño said that the letter, dated March 6, caused the government much concern. (La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 101-103.) But Durá, Argentinean author who defended Muzi in a work written from the clerical point of view, impugned the authenticity of the document. He argued that it differs in style from Muzi's "Carta apologética" which shows that it is a translation from the Italian while the supposed pastoral letter indicates that it was written directly in Spanish. He offered other arguments. (Misión para Hispano América, pp. 142-143.)

^{**} Excerpt from El Liberal, October 30, 1824, in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, p. 119.

^{64 &}quot;Carta apologética," in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, pp. 362-363.

⁶⁵ Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 121-122.

doubt on Muzi's powers, he stated Muzi should make them known. On June 2, the Supreme Director announced that Muzi's power to issue the rescripts was complete and directed the courts to recognize them. The civil authorities resented the fact that he had taken action without consulting them. They proposed to guard the patronage by announcing to Muzi that the rescripts must have the exequatur which the constitution required. They proposed to guard the patronage by announcing to Muzi that the rescripts must have the exequatur which the constitution required.

Holding that Muzi was in full exercise of his powers before the requirements of the exequatur had been met and considering his a true diplomatic mission, the Senate informed the Supreme Director that the situation required the negotiation of a concordat.68 Freire gave as reasons for not having previously informed the Senate of Muzi's powers the fact that he had only recently returned from the campaign in the south and that a successor to Egaña, minister of state who had departed for England, had not been named. He had not, he said, found it convenient to name a person to negotiate a concordat. He denied that Muzi had been in the full exercise of his powers, pointing out that up to that time, June 22, he had only issued some briefs of secularization. 69 Muzi's instructions, conveved to the Senate, were returned to Freire with the charge that he name a commission to negotiate a concordat. 70 The results were negative. It was scarcely likely that Muzi would engage in the negotiations. In view of the repeated expressions of the papacy that the mission was not political and that the envoy was not sent in a diplomatic capacity, the deliberate intention of the government to view it as such could only add to the difficulties besetting relations with Muzi.

By increasing the power of the Liberals, political occurrences of July hastened the break with Muzi. An advanced Liberal, Francisco Antonio Pinto, became minister of state. On July 19, the government suspended the constitution of

⁶⁶ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, pp. 394-395.

 ⁶⁷ Benavente to Muzi, May 24, 1824, in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 132-133.
 ⁶⁸ Sesiones, IX, 475-477.

⁶⁹ Freire to Senado Conservador, June 22, 1824, in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 136-137.
⁷⁰ Sesiones, IX, 475, 477.

1823. On July 30 it issued a decree reëstablishing the freedom of the press.⁷¹ Articles in newspapers attacking him caused Muzi to feel that the act was directed at him. He also opposed it as a matter of policy, firmly believing that harm would come to the cause of the church through the discussion of the natural rights of man and through articles in the press attacking the clergy.⁷²

Muzi also found objectionable the decree of August 2 removing Rodríguez from the administration of his diocese. The civil authorities claimed that they feared the subversive influence of Rodríguez at a time when they were having difficulty in consolidating the work of the revolution. Ferdinand VII. restored to absolutism in the fall of 1823, was making efforts to organize an expedition to reconquer the colonies. Freire's expedition against the Spanish governor of the province of Chiloé had failed. In Peru friction among the patriot factions weakened them in their struggles with the royalists. The decree stated that the government was convinced that the general opinion of the country condemned Rodríguez for the constant opposition to independence which he had manifested during the course of the revolution and that consequently it was necessary to separate him from the government of his diocese. He was required to name Cienfuegos as governor of the bishopric.78

In the opinion of the Argentinean writer Durá, the explanation given by the government was specious, for there was no longer any real threat to independence. He claimed the true reason for the decree was the desire of the government to make Cienfuegos governor of the bishopric. He was expected to be more amenable to its program than Rodríguez.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Boletin, II, 2-3.

^{72 &}quot;Carta apologética," in Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, 347.

rs Boletin, II, 4-5. Rodríguez submitted to the provisions. During the next year relations with him became more critical. Cienfuegos, greatly distressed on account of the attack on him in the "Carta apologética," asked on June 17, 1825, to be relieved of his place as governor of the bishopric. His resignation finally occurred December, 1825. Rodríguez failed to fill all the government's conditions in naming a successor. As a result he was exiled. (Esposición, pp. 15-59; Boletín, II, 306-307. December 22, 1825.) He went to Spain where he remained the rest of his life.

⁷⁴ Durá, Misión para Hispano América, p. 74.

Although he seems to have taken no action at the time, in his "Carta apologética," Muzi condemned the decree on the ground that it did not conform with canonical provisions. He also disapproved strongly of Cienfuegos' acceptance from the civil power the appointment as governor of the bishopric. 75

The next step taken by the government with regard to ecclesiastical affairs was the resumption of efforts to effect a reform of the regular clergy. A communication from Pinto to Muzi, August 13, informed him that the disorders among the regular clergy were so grave that the government considered putting an end to the abuses, as had other American governments, by means of secularizing some and subjecting the rest to the jurisdiction of the diocesan prelates. The coming of the apostolic vicar had, he said, raised the hope that the needed reform might be effected. In his "Carta apologética" Muzi said he was amazed at the proposals. He pointed out that the Pope had given him special power to deal with the reform of the regular clergy and that the proposed measures had been inacceptable to him. The government, nevertheless, had proceeded to carry out its program.

The first measure placed the regulars under the authority of the diocesan. On September 6, in another act, the government called attention to the necessity which had existed for many years for reforming the regular clergy. The government had determined to take any measure it could to effect a reform and promote the advancement of the country and the cause of religion. The act contained various provisions imposing numerous restrictions on the regulars. An important feature of the measure was the provision for the sequestration of the property of the orders "for the purpose of enabling the regular clergy to consecrate themselves exclusively to their ministry without distraction by profane matters." Each member of the orders should receive a pension from the public treasury. A defense of the measure in the periodical El

⁷⁵ Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, 346-347.

⁷º Pinto to Muzi, August 13, 1824, in Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, pp. 179-181.

⁷⁷ Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, 348.

⁷⁸ Boletin, II, 25-26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., II, pp. 45-46. Various documents in the Sesiones and Boletines show

Liberal, October 22, was based on the argument that the government had the right to occupy the land because it had originally belonged to the people of Chile and that the public utility was the supreme law. The writer concluded by stating that it was "incontestable that all nations are the sole and real owners of the property of the clergy" and could, therefore, dispose of it or regulate it according to their wills.⁸⁰

The attempted reform of the regular clergy brought to a crisis the relations of the government with Muzi. According to Sallusti, the government acted without full authority; neither did it proceed in accordance with proper forms nor with the sole view of bettering the discipline of the orders.81 The announcement of the law occurred at midnight on September 22, 1824. On September 24, Muzi asked for his passports, saying that the measures adopted were incompatible with his presence in the country.82 In his reply, Pinto expressed the extraordinary surprise of the government at his decision. Pinto asked him if, before his departure, he would consecrate three bishops in partibus in accordance with the authorization of his instructions. Muzi agreed to do so in the form stipulated by the Pope. The appointments were desirable as the bishopric of Concepción remained under the administration of the Dean Salvador de Andrade, elected by the clergy of the diocese in 1817, and as the administration of the see of Santiago was equally provisory and uncertain.

The government at once submitted the names of Cienfuegos as auxiliary bishop of Santiago, Salvador de Andrade for the see of Concepción, and Joaquín Larraín as the third bishop in partibus. All three were prominent and influential patriots. Muzi refused to accept the presentations because, he said, they were not made in the prescribed manner and

that the administration of the law was a source of numerous discussions and much difficulty.

so El Liberal, October 22, 1824. Buenos Aires had already set the example with the laws of December 21, 1822 and January 17, 1823, placing under governmental control the wealth and income of the church. D. Vélez Sarsfield, Derecho público eclesiástico, relaciones del estado con la iglesia en la antigua América española. (Buenos Aires, 1889), p. 179.

^{*1} Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, p. 411.

⁵² Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, 368-369.

form. A conference with Freire and Pinto had no effect on his decision. But the civil authorities learned that he objected to Cienfuegos, whose appointment they particularly desired, because of his position as governor of the diocese. The minister of state then informed Muzi that he could proceed to consecrate Cienfuegos as he would be relieved of his duties as governor of the bishopric. Muzi refused to be conciliated, saying that the person consecrated must also have the commendation of the bishop. As it was unlikely that Rodríguez would provide the commendation, that settled the matter. The next day the government sent Muzi his passports accompanied by a communication to the effect that the Supreme Director could not comply with the conditions the apostolic vicar imposed, except at the expense of his dignity. To agree would make him blameworthy before the nation.83 Many believed that Muzi's opposition to Cienfuegos was due to his wish that the government should name as auxiliary bishop his companion, the canon Mastai.84 But Muzi showed in his "Carta apologética" that Cienfuegos was in disfavor with him.85

Muzi's departure occurred on October 19. According to a Chilean historian, "Monsignor Muzi with his whole retinue and accompanied by a number of people, both ecclesiastic and laymen, left abruptly for Valparaiso. Many pious people deplored his unexpected and sudden departure as a real disgrace for religion, but there were in the city no tumults

⁶³ Correspondence between Pinto and Muzi, September 27 to October 7, 1824 in ibid., pp. 369-372.

⁸⁴ Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, p. 200, note 1.

ss Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, pp. 347, 348, 379. The resignation of Cienfuegos as governor of the bishopric, which followed the attack on him by Muzi, did not end his career. He continued to take an active part in politics; and, after the exile of Rodríguez, the ecclesiastical cabildo elected him governor of the bishopric. (Esposición, p. 60.) In 1827 he appealed to the government for another mission to Rome to serve the needs of the church. He probably wished also to answer the charges made against him by Rodríguez and Muzi. The government replied that it disapproved authorizing a diplomatic mission after the recent disagreeable events but that he might go in a private character. When Cienfuegos arrived in Rome the second time, he found conditions opportune for the success of his plans. Leo XII named two bishops in partibus for Chile. Cienfuegos was one of them. (Scsiones, XV, 51-52; XX, 315-319.)

or disturbances, nor were there any threats against public tranquillity" which certain groups had expected. Sallusti recorded that the departure of the papel delegate caused a remarkable demonstration of emotion and true piety on the part of the people who gathered in great numbers before their house during their last days in the city. He stated that the whole city grieved at their departure. The sallustication of the people who gathered in great numbers before their house during their last days in the city.

A point of view decidedly different from that of Sallusti motivated an article which appeared October 22 in El Liberal:

With the feelings of true Roman Catholics we have seen Monsignor Muzi depart without having remedied the existing evils for which purpose he was brought here and without having served religion, His Holiness, or the people in any way whatever. It seems that both public and private reasons exist for his departure. Among the former may be listed the occupation by the government of the property of the orders, the subjection of the regulars to the jurisdiction of the ordinaries without his sanction but after he had been notified, and his refusal to consecrate as bishop those persons presented by the government in the use of its powers which he did not deny and which the Holy Father has widely recognized. Among the private reasons were the discontent which he felt on account of the niggardliness of the stipend given him; on account of the liberty of the press which was decreed . . . without his consent; and on account of the presentation for bishoprics persons of merit, virtue, character, and of seniority among the clergy of Chile instead of accepting his recommendation in favor of the young Mastai, his companion. There are some politicians who carry their suspicion to the point of believing that the republican ideas of the persons presented, the inclination of Muzi to the re-colonization of the country, and his acceptance of counsel from those called godos are the only causes of his negative attitude and his ill will. Be that as it may, Señor Muzi will be responsible before God, before the Holy Father, before the whole world for the evils that he has caused religion in America and for his dissimulating conduct. The other republics of the continent who have always aspired to put themselves in communication with the Holy See can learn by our example what they have to hope for. They can see how little we have accomplished after having sacrificed over 50,000 pesos and after having degraded the sovereignty of the state more than a little causing it to act in the guise of a supplicant.88

se Barros Borgoño, La misión del vicario apostólico, p. 208.

⁸⁷ Sallusti, Misiones apostólicas, p. 647. 88 El Liberal, October 22, 1824.

Muzi left Chile with few positive actions to his credit. He had issued a number of briefs of secularization and handed down decisions in the appeals of three ecclesiastical cases, but in one of them the government allowed an appeal to a civil court. He had issued numerous dispensations and made other religious grants. He had also issued a rescript continuing the bulls of the crusade and he had reduced the number of feast days. 89

Thus the first mission from the papacy to a Spanish-American country ended with the chief hopes of the country that promoted it unfulfilled. More unfortunately, there had resulted fresh complications in the relations of Church and State. The distrust the government felt toward Muzi and his purposes later received reinforcement in the news of the encyclical of September 24, 1824, attributed to Leo XII, in which the bishops and other ecclesiastics were called on to show themselves submissive and obedient to the King and to do everything they could to conserve religion and the state. It appeared in the Gaceta de Madrid, February 10, 1825, and created considerable resentment when it became known in America. 90 Mariano Egaña, then in London, obtained a copy from the columns of Ocios de españoles emigrados and sent it to his government in May, 1825. Many people in Chile formed the conclusion from the coincidence of its date with the date of Muzi's break with the government that he had received prior orders from Rome to end the mission.

Both Muzi and the government wished to justify their actions and both were concerned with the incidence of blame for the failure of the mission. Speaking at the opening of Congress on July 4, 1826, Freire said that the government had welcomed the mission because of the hope that it would supply the spiritual needs of the country and because it was an indication of the good will of the papacy. But the considerations shown Muzi were not sufficient to prevent the

⁸⁹ Silva Cotapos, Rodriguez, Appendix IX, p. 345; Boletin, II, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁰ A. de la Peña y Reyes, ed., León XII y los países hispano-americanos (Archivo histórico diplomático mejicano, serie 2, núm. 9). The question as to whether the encyclical is apocryphal is discussed by Legón, Doctrina y ejercicio del patronato nacional, pp. 484-488.

unlooked-for event of his departure. He had pretended to have jurisdiction over matters foreign to the objects of the mission and to his purely spiritual jurisdiction. The government had upheld its rights and prerogatives against his exorbitant pretensions and the apostolic vicar had determined on his precipitate departure and had "abandoned with black ingratitude a kind, hospitable, and Catholic people who had sacrificed considerable sums on his account." He expressed the hope that the Pope would disapprove of the conduct of the delegate and that the necessary communication with the papacy could be maintained.

Muzi presented his case in the "Carta apologética" in which he said:

On account of the series of acts which the government passed, the apostolic vicar considered that the state of Chile paid neither respect nor attention to the rights of the church and the Holy Pontiff. He considered also that the Chilean envoy Cienfuegos . . . gave way entirely to the government, to its laws and decrees, even though they may have been against the general discipline of the church and the powers of the apostolic vicar. He thought, moreover, that Cienfuegos had gravely compromised himself in the matter, for the government intended to use his powers to the injury of the church. He considered finally that since it had been reported that he was in accord with the government on all these decrees, that it was necessary for him to ask for his passports, because his further residence in Chile was incompatible with the decrees of the government in ecclesiastical matters. 92

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⁰¹ Sesiones, XII, pp. 47-48.

⁹² Silva Cotapos, Rodríguez, Appendix IX, p. 349.

DOCUMENTS

NEW LIGHT ON LONDON MERCHANT INVESTMENTS IN ST. DOMINGUE

In a recent article the writer called attention to the scarcity of documents in the Public Record Office dealing with the investments, presumably great, of certain London merchants in the French colony of St. Domingue during the British occupation (1793-1798). With the material at hand, it was impossible even to estimate the amount. Happily, it is no longer impossible to do so. M. Gabriel Debien of the University of Cairo, Egypt, has kindly written me and consented to the publication of the text of the letter reproduced below which provides a contemporary estimate of the investments down to 1797, the year before the evacuation. M. Debien purchased the original manuscript, with others, at a sale of Henry Dundas (Lord Melville) Papers some years ago.²

This unsigned letter, written by John Turnbull of the important firm Turnbull, Forbes & Co.,³ is addressed to Henry Dundas, then secretary of state for war. It aims to acquaint the minister and his colleagues, who were ostensibly about to order the evacuation of the areas held by the British in St. Domingue, with the facts concerning merchant investments there. Curiously, Turnbull is more definite

¹ Carl Ludwig Lokke, "London Merchant Interest in the St. Domingue Plantations of the Émigrés, 1793-1798," American Historical Review, XLIII (July, 1938), p. 801.

³ M. Debien is a collector of and a writer on the sources of the history of the French colonies, particularly St. Domingue. His publications include "Les sources de l'histoire coloniale aux archives de la Vienne," Revue des bibliothèques (1934), pp. 3-50; "Les archives privées et l'histoire pour connaître un type de fortunes: les archives de quelques familles [de] planteurs antillais," Annales d'histoire économique et sociale (September, 1938), pp. 424-428; Les sources manuscrites de l'histoire et de la géographie de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince, n.d.). He has recently published a valuable monograph, Une plantation de Saint-Domingue: la sucrerie Galbaud du Fort, 1690-1802 (Cairo, 1941).

⁸ Before the war this firm was "very largely concerned in trade" with southern Europe where it had established several branch houses. Turnbull, Forbes & Co. to Duke of Portland, July 6, 1798. Public Record Office, War Office, 1/68, ff. 465-467. Gouverneur Morris mentions the firm in his diary, December 21, 1789. Beatrix Cary Davenport, ed., A diary of the French Revolution (Boston, 1939), I, 339.

about other houses than his own. The one most involved, he says, is that of Muilman & Co. This firm, now bankrupt following the suicide of its leading member, "has advanced the largest sum to the former proprietors of estates in St. Domingue and engaged the largest in making shipments to that island"; its advances amount to about £100,000. Some eight or ten lesser houses have probably advanced a like sum. As regards his own firm, Turnbull declares that in some respects it is a greater "sufferer" than that of Muilman & Co. The expenditure has taken several forms: advances in cash to a number of St. Domingue proprietors in London, the purchase and management of several important plantations, notably the Rohan estate, and the founding of a branch establishment in Port-au-Prince. Turnbull, Forbes & Co.'s total financial investment probably approached £100,000.6

According to Turnbull's figures, then, some ten or twelve London merchant firms were involved in St. Domingue to the extent of about £300,000. This was no mean sum in those days. It helps to explain why the British government in roughly the same period sacrificed more than £4,000,000 in an effort to conquer the French colony and maintain or restore Negro slavery.⁷ It helps to explain also why

'On February 14, 1794, in a letter to Dundas, Malouet, the agent of the French planters in London, describes the activities of this firm as follows: ''Voici des Bâtimen[t]s, celui de M.M. Muilman & Ce nommément, partant en droiture pour Saint Domingue. l'entreprise de ces messieurs est en quelque sorte nationale pour l'angleterre par l'immensité des affaires qu'ils ont commencé[s] dans tous les quartiers de la colonie soumis ou non soumis aux anglais. elle n'est pas moins secourable pour les propositions français[es] par la facilité obligéante avec laquelle ils ont accueilli une multitude de malheureux sans ressources.'' P.R.O., W.O., 1/59, ff. 45-48. For Malouet's personal dealings with Muilman & Co. before it went bankrupt early in 1797, see Mémoires de Malouet, second edition (Paris, 1874), II, 421, 494.

⁵ This number is too small. In July, 1794, no fewer than fifteen lesser houses joined Muilman & Co. and Turnbull, Forbes & Co. in signing a petition to the Duke of Portland urging him to press the conquest of St. Domingue. To these must be added three others which signed a proprietors' petition this same month but not that of their fellow-merchants. Thus at least eighteen lesser firms had an interest in the colony from the first year of the attempted conquest. It is possible, of course, that several of these had liquidated their interests there by 1797.

In its letter to Portland, cited above, note 3, the firm declared "that the amount of their consignments, in sugars and coffee, last year [1797], exceeded £40,000, & on that of their Exports to that Island, amounted to upwards of £15,000."

'The total 'amount of Bills drawn from or on account of the Island of St. Domingo, presented at the Treasury in the years' 1794 to May 1, 1797 was

Wilberforce's abolitionist program suffered a momentary eclipse. But we need to be careful not to put too much faith in Turnbull and his figures. After all, this merchant had an interest in making them as large as possible. Moreover, he was capable of making arithmetical errors to his own advantage. Still, his estimates, "although necessarily not accurate, nor correct," clearly have some validity and may be accepted until they can be checked against other data.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The National Archives.

Ι

John Turnbull to Henry Dundas

London, November 17, 1797

Sir,

In consequence of the intimation, that you were pleased to give me when I had the honor, a few days since, to pay you my respects, of the intention of His Majesty's Ministers, to order the troops to evacuate the town of Port-au-Prince and the adjoining Districts in Saint-Domingo; and the wish you expressed to know to what extent the British Subjects might suffer by such evacuation, I have endeavoured privately to acquire the best information I could on this subject and the following statement thereof, altho' necessarily not accurate, nor correct, may serve to give a general idea of the depending commercial concerns in that Quarter.

The House in trade, that has advanced the largest sums to the former proprietors of estates in St. Domingo and engaged the largest in making shipments to that island, was MM. Muilman & C° whose principal, Mr Chiswell, made away with himself and the house became insolvent. Their advance and dependencies, I am inclined to think, amount to about £100,000, but as a great part thereof, was advanced on speculation to the Proprietors of estates in the Plain of Cape Francois and other quarters which have never been under the protection nor Government of the English, it is impossible to me to discriminate, what just claims they might have, on the British Government, for redress.

The greatest sufferers, after Messr^s Muilman and in some respects, much greater than them, are my house of Turnbull, Forbes & Co; but before I submit the nature and extent of the losses we must

^{£4,383,596 8}s. 2d. Great Britain: House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers before 1801, Vol. 45, No. 867. Annual Register, 1797 (London, 1800), appendix to the chronicles, p. 110.

sustain and which can be substantiated to perfect satisfaction, I beg leave to mention that comparatively to Martinico, there are very few British merchants that have any concerns of consequence at St. Domingo. The number in all exclusive of Muilman's house and ours. will not in my opinion, exceed eight or ten, and the whole and aggregate amount of their depending concerns in that island. I should not conceive would exceed £100,000. Some of them are also circumstanced like Mess. Muilman: having made advances to proprietors whose estates have never been under the protection of the English. With respect to ourselves, we have been induced from various circumstances and considerations, which at the time appeared to be rational and well founded to enter into large engagements with that island; and to establish a house of trade, wherein we are concerned, at Port-au-Prince, under the firm of Bertrand Littledale & Co. This I believe, is the only commercial establishment wherein any British subjects are concerned at Port-au-Prince or that we know of, in the Island of St. Domingo. The value of the debts, goods on hand, and other dependancies of our said house must be considerable and except what can be removed, in the event of evacuation, must be abandoned.

We have also advanced in cash to different proprietors of Estates, per the list herewith, in various parts of the island, which are now or which have been under the protection of the British arms, chiefly for their subsistence in England and on the security of their estates to the amount of [blank]. This sum, there is reason to believe that His Majesty's ministers would have had the goodness to have stipulated, should have been in some way made good to us, in case that the Island had been returned to the French by negociation; but if the Districts in question, are evacuated the debts owing to us can never be reclaimed, and must be totally irrecoverable from the Estates in whose security they were contracted.

The next object to which we are unfortunately obliged to solicit the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers is of much greater importance—the illustrious, now emigrant, family of Rohan, consisting of the Cardinal, the archbishop of Cambray and the Prince of Guemenee, father of the Prince of Rohan, when the English conquered the District of Arcahaye, were in possession of the most valuable estate in that quarter, which formerly belonged to their brother the late prince de Montbazon, who had been governor of St. Domingo. The coheirs gave the charge of it to us and we have

^{* £8,479 6}s. 8d. See Document II, below.

^o Louis Armand Constantin, Chevalier de Rohan, Prince de Montbazon, governor of St. Domingue from 1766 to 1769, was guillotined in July, 1794. Mémoires

managed it in the best manner for their interest, and have rendered it very productive and advantageous to them.—Latterly, they have been extremely desirous to dispose of their said estate of which we have had for some years the deed of sale, and which stands in our name and as our property in the registers of St. Domingo. 10 Under present circumstances no purchaser could be found to it, at any price whatever and as the archbishop and the prince de Guemenee, had no other means of subsistence, nor any other resource, 11 but from that estate, we agreed bona fide to purchase it at the price of thirty six thousand pounds, to be paid by annual instalments; we engaging to use our utmost endeavors to maintain the possession of it and taking all risks of profit and loss from the produce to ourselves; and they guaranteeing to us, that we should not be deprived, from any cause whatever of the possession. The sugars that we have already received in this year, from that estate, exceed 400 hogsheads, and render of nett produce after deducting freight, insurance and all charges, upwards of £8000 sterling. From the security of that habitation we have been chiefly induced to enter into large engagement with the prince of Rohan, and deprived of it his nearest relatives—except the Cardinal who still possesses some very little territory about Ettenheim—will be destitute of every means of subsistence. Besides the positive losses, that we have stated, which that family and ourselves must inevitably suffer, from the evacuation of Port-au-Prince and its territorial dependancies, we have the entire charge of the habitation of Chatulet, in that district of l'Arcahave belonging to the Rochefoucauld family, and producing from a much greater number of negroes, a still greater quantity and value of sugars than the Rohan estate. We have also the consignments of several other very valuable estates in that district and we have already received to our address in this year, besides much more that will be shipt before the end of it, 1364 hogsheads of sugar and 126 casks of coffee. Our regular commissions on the Business we do in exports to and imports

de Malouet, I, 31, note 5. He evidently acquired this great plantation during his residence in the colony. His memory is preserved in the plantation Prince in Arcahaye where he had great works constructed. Adolphe Cabon, Histoire d'Haïti (Port-au-Prince, n.d.), I, 300-301.

¹⁰ As early as July 27, 1795, Turnbull, Forbes & Co. informed the Duke of Portland that it had purchased the Montbazon estate but was withholding payment until the time of taking possession. P.R.O., W.O., 1/61, f. 285.

¹¹ Professor Georges Lefebvre in his new book, Quatre-vingt-neuf (Paris, 1939) p. 14, refers to the well-known bankruptcy of the Guéménée family at the time of the Revolution. It seems likely indeed that the family would have been dependent on the income from their St. Domingue estate even if the Revolution had not caused them to flee from France.

from Port-au-Prince may at least be computed at £3000 per annum. These statements are far from being overrated or exaggerated—they can be easily proved to compleat satisfaction, and we will be happy to do so, either by declarations to the same effect, on Oath or by submitting the investigation to any persons that may be appointed— I entreat you sir, to excuse the tediousness of this detail, which the interests of the parties and the nature of the circumstances, would not admit of my making shorter. They, at the same time with myself, threw ourselves, with great submission and well founded Hope on the Justice and Equity of His Majesty's Ministers. From their experienced consideration of distress, on every occasion, we are persuaded that they will not suffer by the evacuation in question, the only English house at Port-au-Prince, to be totally ruined; the family of Rohan to be reduced to the greatest misery, and we, after much trouble and hazard to be deprived of advantages, that we had acquired, all of us solely trusting to the protection of the British arms, without any fault whatever on our parts. In the present times, I neither presume to ask, nor even to wish, a pecuniary compensation and much less to deprecate a measure of great public retrenchment and utility, but I trust, that, thinking my request to be just, you will have the goodness to intercede with Mr Pitt that an establishment may be alloted for Mrs. Bertrand Littledale & Co in Trinidad or Demerary, when they are compelled to fly from Port-au-Prince, and that certain portions of lands, at present, waste and unoccupied may be appropriated in the island of Trinidad and the settlements of Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice for the benefit and use of Mess. Bertrand Littledale & Co, the family of Rohan and my house of Turnbull, Forbes and Co, in consideration of the very great and positive losses that we shall sustain, both from the debts that are owing to us, and which will become irrecoverable and the commercial advantages which at great expense, trouble and risk, we now derive from that settlement. From M. Pitt's consideration and goodness, 1 feel confidence to hope that he will be pleased to determine on some place, where MM. Bertrand Littledale & Co may settle, when they are obliged to quit Port-au-Prince and that we may be enabled to continue to afford the means of subsistence, to the different branches of the unfortunate family of Rohan.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

H

Mr. Turnbull presents his respects to Mr Dundas and begs his permission to transmit to him herewith the accounts of the sums ad-

vanced by his House of Turnbull Forbes and Co to the Proprietors of Estates in St. Domingo. which account has been omitted to be sent with the letter which M^r Turnbull had the honor to write to M^r Dundas yesterday

Broadstreet, 18 Nov 1797

Sums supplied by MM. Turnbull, Forbes & Co. to sundry proprietors of estates in St. Domingo on the security of their said estates12

| Madame de Beaumont | 439 | 14 | 11 |
|-----------------------|----------|------|------|
| de Cocherel | 722 | 3 | 8 |
| d'Ouge [d'Ougé] | 30 | | |
| la ctesse de Sediere | 639 | 16 | 3 |
| de Bongard | 87 | 3 | |
| la comtesse O'Connell | 601 | 13 | 2 |
| de Pressigny | 90 | | |
| Mademoiselle Ferron | 81 | 5 | 10 |
| Monsieur d'Audige | 20 | | |
| le Vte d'Osmond | 144 | 1 | 6 |
| Dupuy-Montbrun | 85 | 12 | |
| Cte d'Agoult | 520 | 19 | 6 |
| '' de Sediere | 295 | 2 | 3 |
| '' d'Heliand | 81 | 4 | 5 |
| le Mis de Massiac | 825 | 16 | 4 |
| de Laubriere | 565 | 8 | 7 |
| Dillon | 12 | | |
| de Vaublanc | 38 | 5 | |
| de Mussey | 374 | 3 | |
| Cte O'Mahon | 430 | 12 | 8 |
| la Sommiere fils | 28 | | |
| de Saint-Julien | 60 | | |
| de Fontenay | 284 | 15 | |
| le Mis d'Aussigny | 321 | 15 | 11 |
| de Broue | 25 | | |
| Mis de Gouvello | 1144 | 1 | 9 |
| de Souche | 61 | 9 | |
| de Saint-Olympe | 469 | 2 | 11 |
| | [£]8,479 | 6[a] | 8[d] |

¹³ On July 6, 1798, Mr. Turnbull's firm submitted a similar list of names and sums to the Duke of Portland. P.R.O., W.O., 1/68, f. 469.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Philippines, A Study in National Development. By Joseph Ralston Hayden. (New York: Macmillan, 1942. Pp. xxvi, 984. \$9.00.)

This valuable study by a professor of political science at the University of Michigan, who was Vice-Governor of the Philippine Islands from 1933 to 1935, fills a distinct place in the literature of the Philippines since 1898. It is primarily devoted to the period beginning with 1935 when, in accordance with legislation of the Congress, American administration in the Islands ceased, and the Filipinos themselves were authorized and empowered to elect a constitutional convention which would frame a fundamental law and, by the election of a government having republican form, institute the Commonwealth of the Philippines. This Congressional statute also further provided that at the end of ten years, namely in 1946, the complete independence of the Philippines would be recognized by the United States Government, American sovereignty would end, and the Philippines would take its place among the states of the world.

Almost immediately, however, difficulties were foreseen and other difficulties arose. In the first place, the commercial relations between the Philippines and the United States had grown through the years of the century until the Philippines became a market for a very considerable proportion of the exports of this country; and, on the other hand, the development which had taken place in Philippine agriculture, particularly the rise of sugar to top place in production, had come to depend very largely on the great market in the United States where goods could enter tariff free. The problem was to create an independent Philippines that would be economically independent of its privileged position in the American market. Filipino leaders naturally desired to have the independence and the American market, too. Part of the struggle has been to secure this desirable but anomalous arrangement.

Another problem which arose was the problem of external defense. The Filipino had long been conscious that his archipelago was menaced by Japanese expansion. In its agricultural production, its great timber resources, its important fisheries, and its valuable but only partially developed mining wealth, the Philippines would make a

great complement to the economy of Japan. While the area of these Islands is less extensive than the Japanese archipelago, the amount of soil that can be profitably cultivated is larger. There is room in the Philippines for many millions of Japan's pressing population. Furthermore, the possession of the Philippines by Japan would create for Japan a strategic position as a great naval power and as a rising air power, to equal if not overshadow the position of Singapore. Anyone examining the matter realistically and from the standpoint of Japanese advantage could only arrive at the conclusion that the acquisition of the archipelago is to the Japanese leaders an irresistible attraction.

The President and Congress, having determined that the United States would terminate responsibility for the Islands, enacted in 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act which, in the opinion of this reviewer, will go down in history as the most unstatesmanlike and disastrous law ever enacted by Congress under the President's solicitation. The indefensible feature of the measure is that while relinquishing authority for the government and well-being of the Islands, the United States lost all effective participation in the Philippine government though retaining complete international responsibility for its defense for a period of a decade.

Those who put some confidence in the wisdom and self-restraint of the Japanese governing class expected that it would wait until American responsibility was entirely withdrawn—until, to put it romantically, the American flag had come down-and would then pursue skillfully and with determination a policy of penetration in the Philippines until Japan would completely replace, and if possible without a military struggle, the position of the United States in the Philippines between 1898 and 1935. But Japanese leadership, now seeming to be completely military, renounced all pretense of postponement and attacked the United States on December 7, 1941. With a small armed force and a slender naval and air force, the United States chose to resist, and is resisting. By the capture of Manila and the expulsion therefrom of the Philippine Government, a new period in Philippine history arises, and the problem of the Philippines, which to some minds had seemed to be solved by the Tydings-McDuffie Act, has now entered upon an entirely new phase.

Professor Hayden prefaces discussion of the new government of the Philippines by a chapter upon the Filipino people in which the policy of the Philippine Government in creating a homogeneity among the culturally distinct elements of the population is viewed with a degree of optimism that may awaken some differences of opinion. This is followed by a very interesting treatment of the question of whether a common Malayan speech can be developed to absorb the many diverse dialects of the Islands. Later in the book (Chapter XXIV—"Wanted: A National Language"), the Institute of National Language established by law in November, 1936, and its progress toward evolving a common speech upon the basis of the Tagalog tongue is fully and very interestingly described. Whether this is practicable is yet to be demonstrated, and whether it will be advantageous to the Filipinos themselves may still admit of discussion. Meanwhile, he states that while for forty years Spanish has been losing ground, it still maintains itself, while English will continue in use because in 1946 most Filipinos between fifteen and sixty will have been educated in this tongue.

Space does not permit even the enumeration of numerous chapters and the valuable information and discussion which they embody. Suffice it to say that a great deal of attention is given to the Philippine Constitution of 1935, with some account of its novel features, and the amendments adopted in 1939, especially the one repealing the section of the original Constitution forbidding the reëlection of the President and Vice-President. These amendments, like the Constitution itself, require the approval of the President of the United States but in all cases this has been given.

Especially interesting is the chapter on the Presidency and the almost complete centralization of authority, including the control of local government which the original McKinley restrictions assumed was the basis of all representative development. That the office has been built by President Quezón into another example of dictatorship, no one can doubt after examining this chapter. Significant, too, is the success of the President in reducing the office of High Commissioner to a nullity and even in asserting, under powers bestowed by Congress and the Constitution, the independence of the Philippine President of the President of the United States.

Other chapters deal with the various departments of administration, the Colonial Civil Service, and the operation of the Philippine Legislature, under the firm control of the President of the Commonwealth. The type of government evolved more nearly approaches the constitutional pattern of a Latin-American republic in the days of the great caudillos, than the pattern originally conceived and perhaps still believed in by the majority of the American people.

A very interesting chapter is XV, "The Unrepresented Minority." Here are accounts, written from the experience of an official who had to deal with these dissident groups, of the Colorum, an early

and fanatical secret semi-religious organization, and of the Sakdal, now apparently reëmerging as an instrument in the Japanese effort to control Luzon. The account given of these movements which would appear to be thoroughly indigenous forms of heretical protest, is the most complete and authoritative account which the reviewer has seen.

The work has a rather full account of the development of education in the Islands, the place of private schools now controlled by the Commonwealth Government, and a brief account of the relations of the Philippines with China and Japan—brief not in the sense of being superficial but as treating of a subject which the reader would have been glad to see more extensively dealt with by one of the author's authority.

The chapter on "National Defense" contains an account of the building of the National Army under General MacArthur, and helps to an understanding of the splendid resistance made by the Filipinos themselves under this distinguished commander.

If the final chapters, dealing with the future relations between the Philippines and the United States, are not wholly convincing to every reader, it would be because of the marked enthusiasm of the author for every evidence of Philippine progress in the direction of self-guidance and self-control, and his fine optimism as to the validity of progress made.

As appendices to the work are printed the text of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law (the Tydings-McDuffie Act), the text of the Constitution of the Philippines as adopted by the Constitutional Convention on February 8, 1935, and the subsequent amendments to that Constitution. The body of notes to the various chapters, which embrace nearly 94 pages of citations, are a valuable addition to the work, which is completed by a satisfactory index. The volume also includes some thirty-four excellent illustrations, including photographs of distinguished contributors to the most recent progress of the Philippines and a very fine frontispiece of John Chrysostom Early, the American teacher and administrator to whose memory this volume is dedicated. The reviewer, who himself had an intimate friendship with Early in the early days of American effort among the mountaineers of northern Luzon, applauds this dedication to one who can almost be ranked as the last of a body of young American men who were of very large capacities of mind and of body and who, like Early, did the pioneering in the colonial field that has made the American effort there a model widely recognized.

As a background for the reëxamination of American responsibility for the Islands and the future of the Islands, Professor Hayden's book

is a quite indispensable study. Many students of the Philippine problem will not agree with his optimism and confidence in the Filipinos as constitution-makers and builders themselves of a new state, and will have more of honest doubt and honest criticism to offer than does the author, but even such skeptical minds will not fail to benefit greatly from the detailed and exhaustive examination which Professor Hayden makes, and to be conscious of their indebtedness to his scholarly investigation, reinforced, as such studies seldom are, by experience when he carried the burden of government in the Islands.

DAVID P. BARROWS.

University of California, Berkeley.

Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España.

Tomo IV, La Intervención y la República. By Herminio Portell

Vilá. [Biblioteca de Historia, Filosofía y Sociología, Vol. IX.]

(Habana: Jesús Montero, 1941. Pp. 601. Illustrations, index.

\$4.00.)

This is the final volume of Dr. Portell Vilá's extensive and passionate history of the relations of Cuba and the United States. It covers the period from the beginning of the first intervention through the administration of the first president to the close of the second American intervention. There is the same detailed style and the use of two languages as in the earlier volumes. Less dependence, however, has been placed on records of the Department of State. The papers of numerous public men including Roosevelt, Olney, Platt and Senator Morgan are utilized and more frequent references are made to secondary sources, particularly those which are critical of Americans and American policy. A few Cuban official published sources were consulted, but no Cuban archivalia were examined.

A censorious attitude is consistently maintained. It would appear that the author made a careful study of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy in order to select all the words of a faultfinding, disparaging, condemnatory, and derogatory character in order to employ them repeatedly in connection with the personages who had rôles in the period of Cuban history under discussion. The work is repetitious to a greater degree than the preceding volumes. Even extensive documents are quoted more than once (cf. pp. 315 with 423; 262 with 278; 287 with 324; and 362 with 407). Not only does criticism extend to those who participated in the events described but it is also directed against Cuban political leaders of the second republic as well as against the Americans who in any way participated in the Cuban-

American relations during more recent years. Thus the names of Menocal, Machado and Zayas as well as Welles, Caffrey and Guggenheim repeatedly appear on the pages. Only two individuals of the contemporary scene win approval—Ramón Grau San Martín, president for a short time, and the author himself for his speech against the Platt amendment at the Montevideo conference.

The basic idea which is emphasized is that the ulterior aim of all American action in Cuba was the accomplishment of annexation. This motive is ascribed to every American who had any connection with the Cuban question. The author finds authority for some of his views in one particular document which he uses with much vigor. Reference is made to a letter quoted on page 461 of Volume 3 which is taken from Horatio Rubens, Liberty: The Story of Cuba. This is a purported instruction, dated December 27, 1897, of a pseudo-Assistant Secretary of War which supposedly discusses proposed treatment of Cubans and Puerto Ricans in a future Antillean campaign. Repeatedly, in both volumes 3 and 4, the author cites this document in criticizing the American attitude towards Cubans and American actions in Cuba. He finds that it embodies the political philosophy by which the Americans were motivated. He holds that it is an adequate explanation for all conduct which he does not approve. The apocryphal character of this document has been well set forth by Colonel Thomas M. Spaulding in the American Historical Review (Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 485-488). It is not clear just why Dr. Portell Vilá failed to check the authenticity of this paper and did not note the fact that he refers to a person (probably fictitious) as Assistant Secretary of War who never held the position. He casts no doubt on the document and makes no reference to the article of Col. Spaulding.

About half of the volume is devoted to the first intervention, considered largely from the viewpoint of a government by imposition. The whole régime of General Wood is condemned in no uncertain terms and it is continually maintained that a government in Cuban hands would have been far better. The major portion of the second half of the volume treats of the administration of Tomás Estrada Palma. Naturally much is found to be commended in the efforts of the first president but bitter complaints are registered against all the Americans who shared the relations with the new independent government and much is made of one Cuban of the president's official family who is branded as a traitor for revealing secrets of the administration. In the end Estrada Palma as well as all the other politicians of the epoch are accorded full condemnation for the events in connection with the presidential election of 1906 which resulted in revolution,

near anarchy, and the second intervention. The second intervention is briefly treated in the concluding chapter.

Throughout the work there are charges of errors, inefficiencies, intrigues, and injustices which are ascribed to the Americans. The economic system is portrayed as most defective. It is suggested that Cuba might have been industrialized as the United States and sugar, a chief product of the island, is termed a parasite.

The author summarizes his thesis and concludes the history as follows:

"With all the defects of its leading men, with all the errors, at times terrible, of the second Cuban Republic, although this is not yet the cordial republic full of political, social and economic perfection which the founders of the national conscience desire, it is infinitely better in every respect than the colony backward and tyrannized under Spain or the country humiliated and confused by the intervention of the United States; and while we labor for its progress. (engrandecimiento) with invincible tenacity, we, the Cubans, feel proud of the fatherland and bless it as it marches toward the realization of its destiny to be a small, great nation, happy, independent, united, prosperous and respected as it has a right to be because of its glorious history."

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Washington, D. C.

Ensayo político sobre el Reino de la Nueva España. By ALEJANDRO DE HUMBOLDT. Sexta edición castellana. Edición crítica, con una Introducción Bibliográfica, Notas y Arreglo de la versión española, por Vito Alessio Robles. (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1941. 5 vols. Pp. 381; 460; 409; 383; 36 [atlas]. Paper, \$21.00 m/n; leather, \$26.00 m/n.)

It may seem, after a hundred and forty years, a little late to be writing a review of Humboldt's famous *Essai Politique*. The book needs no introduction to students of the old régime in Spanish America, but it may not be amiss to summarize the reasons why the work of the astonishing baron continues to be indispensable.

Alexander von Humboldt, when he came to America at the age of thirty, was an example of the best type of intellect released by eighteenth-century rationalism. Reason was God and God, Reason. The physical universe was being discovered and its discovery was an enthralling adventure. The world was Humboldt's oyster, and he set about opening it with thoroughness and a never-flagging enthusiasm. His eager mind, by a series of fortunate accidents, was turned

on the Spanish Empire in America. Few things escaped his trained eye: agriculture, mining, manufacturing, social institutions, astronomy, geology, geography—in short, the whole gamut of human activities and natural phenomena was subjected to his searching analysis. Like Arthur Young in France and Bourgoing in Spain, Humboldt thought of himself as a sort of economic physician. He was generous with his advice about everything he observed, and he observed so much that the reader of today finds himself in a state of continual amazement, not unmixed with envy. Humboldt saw so deeply that most of his observations are still pertinent and are not to be ignored by anyone who would understand Spanish America.

Among the invaluable services rendered by the Editorial Pedro Robredo of Mexico this new edition of Humboldt occupies the first rank. The work of preparing it was fittingly put into the capable hands of the dean of Mexican historians, Don Vito Alessio Robles. For him it was a labor of love and for us it was a most fortunate choice. His voluminous notes and corrections give Humboldt's work a new value; they make it, indeed, a valuable commentary on presentday Mexico. The need for a new Spanish edition of the Essai Politique has long been felt, for the preceding editions are full of gross inaccuracies. So Alessio Robles undertook the colossal task of retranslating the four volumes of the second (and definitive) French edition. He has, moreover, included Humboldt's provocative geographical introduction, which was omitted in the earlier Spanish editions. Not the least interesting contribution of Alessio Robles is a short biography of Humboldt, written with sympathy and reverence. The result of his labor is a book to be put on the "must" list of every student of Mexico.

In a work of such monumental dimensions it would be miraculous if some errors did not occur. Your reviewer has collated the new translation with the French original and has noted a number of them, some trivial, some important, which he is listing below as a sort of fe de erratas, an addendum to the published list in Vol. IV.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

University of California, Berkeley.

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Vol. I, p. 147, note: reads 938 toesas; should read 950.

I, p. 161, ll. 6-12: reads oriente three times; should read occidente.

I, p. 161, 6 l. from bottom: reads 6h49'53": should read 6h48'43".

I, p. 165, l. 13: reads 20"; should read 20'.

I, p. 166, l. 6: reads 6h35'54"; should read 6h33'54".

I, p. 169, l. 18: reads oriente; should read occidente. (Thus Alessio Robles' explanatory note does not make sense. "Quizá se refiere Humboldt a Los Angeles,

California, que está, aproximadamente, a cuatro grados al oeste del meridiano de Acapulco.'' Humboldt could not have made such a wild guess. Los Angeles lies some twenty degrees to the west of Acapulco.)

I, p. 170, l. 14: reads 6h47'10"; should read 6h47'26".

I, p. 175, l. 11: reads 36"; should read 36'.

I, p. 197, l. 26: after Pownall insert ni del de Sigüenza.

I, p. 205, footnote: reads Temo que no se haya escapado algún error. It would be better to delete the no, as this pleonastic construction is obsolete and might be misread.

I, p. 225, last line: reads del Pasaje, del Gallo; should read del Paso del Gallo.

I, p. 229, l. 6: reads Southern Fort: should read Southern Fork.

I, p. 260, 6 lines from bottom: reads 5 48 50; should read 6 48 50.

I, p. 261, l. 16: reads 18 2 0; should read 19 2 0.

I, p. 263, l. 9: reads 6 16 56; should read 6 15 56.

Same, 1. 20: reads 6 33 39: should read 6 33 38.

Same, l. 24: reads 6 33 3,58-1/2; should read 6 33 53,5.

I, p. 265, third line from bottom: reads 184 57 0; should read 124 57 0. (This error occurs in the French edition.)

I, p. 268, fourth line from bottom: reads 2848; should read 2484.

I, p. 305, fifth line from bottom: reads 115,885; should read 155,885.

I, p. 346, l. 19: verosimilmente does not occur in the original and detracts from the sense.

I, p. 347, l. 6: reads \$5°; should read \$7°.

II, p. 13, l. 3 of table: reads 8,357; should read 3,357.

II, p. 14, last line of table: reads 4.483,569; should read 4.483,559.

II, p. 120, l. 7; reads 281.40; should read 281.400.

II, p. 225, l. 8: reads 80.988,000; should read 80.928,000.

II, p. 372, l. 7: reads 1798; should read 1789.

III, pp. 49-51 and V. A. R.'s note, pp. 94-97. Humboldt's enthusiastic comments on the potentiality of Mexican agriculture are the weakest part of his book. Either that or the decline from his day to ours is the most startling economic disaster ever recorded. The editor would have done well to consult Eyler Simpson's El Ejido (Chapel Hill, 1937) for an acute discussion of the problem.

III, p. 56, last line: reads 6789; should read 6786.

III, p. 57, l. 6: reads tres; should read trece.

III, p. 117, l. 20: reads 44.937,000; should read 44.927,000.

III, p. 149, l. 13: reads karinosa; should read farinosa.

III, p. 153, l. 15; reads torrentes; should read barraneas (French: ravins).

III, p. 162, l. 27: reads oldos: should read orificio nasal (French: évents; English: blowhole). The error occurs in the early Spanish translations. The cachalot has a single blowhole and is thus easily distinguished from other whales.

III, p. 194, l. 18: rends a veces pasa a ser tal cosa; should read muchas veces pasa a pizarra talcosa (French: passe souvent au schiste talqueux).

III, p. 195, l. 13: reads pyenita; should read pionita.

III, p. 216, first line of table: reads 26; should read 22.

III, p. 220, second line of table: reads 611.399,415; should read 611.399,451.

III, p. 221, second table, first column: 5,285 should read 6,235; 21,674 should read 21,673; 23,044 should read 23,034; 24,646 should read 24,645; 52,887 should read 32,887; second column, sixth line from bottom: 5 should read 6; fourth

column, ninth line: 30,836 should read 30,835; last column, first line: 3 should read 0.

III, p. 222, first table, first column, l. 2: 26,852 should read 26,823; l. 18: 409,305 should read 49,305; l. 19: 46,549 should read 46,459; l. 20: 50,772 should read 59,772; fourth column, l. 6: 15,927 should read 16,927; second table, first column, l. 3: 194,577 should read 194,579; fourth column, l. 2: 5 should read 3.

III, p. 223, first column, l. 1: 263,601 should read 243,601; l. 3: 454,175 should read 434,175; l. 4: 452,225 should read 452,226; l. 16: 487,421 should read 487,321; l. 17: 363,807 should read 463,807; third column, l. 7: 133,821 should read 138,821; l. 12: 100,830 should read 100,836; l. 23: 86,486 should read 84,486; l. 24: 114,530 should read 114,540; l. 29: 601,774 should read 177,460; l. 30: 60,841 should read 84,172; fourth column, l. 10: 5 should read 3; l. 20: 5 should read 3; l. 24: 3 should read 2; last column, l. 21: 5 should read 4.

III, p. 224, first line of table: 50.320,503 should read 30.320,503.

III, p. 237, first line of table: 400,000 should read 410,000.

III, p. 238, table, l. 1, last item: correct to read 13.835,377; l. 2, first item: correct to read 799,328; l. 2, eighth item: correct to read 991,981; l. 2, last item: correct to read 8,046,058; l. 3, first item: correct to read 482,714; l. 3, second item: correct to read 880,823; l. 3, fifth item: correct to read 833,702; l. 3, sixth item: correct to read 668,955; l. 3, eighth item: correct to read 401,457; l. 3, ninth item: correct to read 285,322; l. 3, last item: correct to read 5,789,319.

Vol. III, p. 259, l. 17: Las vetas . . . son por lo general occidentales. The French text also has occidentaux—which does not make sense. Correct to read accidentales (German Spatgänge).

III, p. 302, l. 8: 1797 should read 1805.

III, p. 302, l. 9: 25.644,000 should read 27.165,888.

III, p. 303, first column, l. 10: correct to read 8.550,785; l. 11: correct to read 9.556,040; l. 15: correct to read 10.285,000; l. 16: correct to read 10.327,500; last column, l. 18: 22.014,699.

III, p. 304, first column, l. 10: correct to read 1.037,055 2 4; second column, l. 4: correct to read 2.709,167.

III, p. 305, first table, l. 5: correct to read 90.529,730; l. 8: correct to read 112.828,860.

III, p. 344, second table, first column, l. 8: correct to read 1.456,958; last column, l. 5: correct to read 1.299,052.

III, p. 345, last column, l. 4: correct to read 372,447; l. 22: correct to read 231,256; l. 25: correct to read 214,740; l. 28: correct to read 274,416; l. 29: correct to read 286,328.

III, p. 346, second column, next to last line: correct to read 292,203.

III, p. 359, last line of table: correct total to read 8.161,862.

III, p. 379, first item: correct to read 1,353.452,000.

IV, p. 38, l. 18: reads 800,000; should read 80,000.

IV, p. 46: add after last line: Jalapa, 120,000 kilogramos, por valor de 60,000 pesos.

IV, p. 48: correct total to read 11.539,210.

IV, p. 50, first table, second column, l. 1: correct to read 33,316; l. 11: correct to read 1,224; second table, first column, l. 6: correct to read 431,867; l. 7: correct to read 195.

IV, p. 57, second table, first column, l. 1: correct to read 27,251; l. 10: correct to read 3,959.

IV, p. 77, l. 15: reads 1740; correct to read 1540.

IV, p. 89, l. 21: reads 31,114; correct to read 31,144.

IV, p. 95, last line: reads 1787; correct to read 1778.

IV, p. 107, l. 20: correct to read \$1,600,000.

IV, p. 109, last date in table: correct to read 1788.

IV, p. 169, l. 17: reads 18 por 100; correct to read 13 por 100.

El nacimiento del Nuevo Mundo, 1492-1534. Historia y cartografía. By Diego Luis Molinari. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Kapelusz y Cia., 1941. Pp. 199; 50 pp. of maps. Illustrated. Cloth, \$7.50.) This is the best general history of the discovery of America that has appeared since the Discovery of North America by Harrisse; and it is more comprehensive and critical than the work of Harrisse. Dr. Molinari has brought to bear a combination of deep scholarship, boundless energy, and saving common sense on the various Columbian problems, and on the subsequent voyages along the coasts of both Americas until 1534. The earlier chapters, covering the actual discovery, were first printed in the coöperative Historia de la Nación Argentina, Vol. II, to which scholars must still go for the scholarly apparatus; unfortunately El nacimiento is very slenderly annotated.

While another scholar of the Argentine, Dr. Rómulo D. Carbia, has been out-Vignauding Vignaud to the point where his readers wonder whether there really was such a person as Columbus, and are almost inclined to write off Las Casas as a ghost writer, Dr. Molinari has buttressed the tradicionalista view of Columbus and his voyages by a fresh examination of the sources, and an impeccable historical canon. Anyone who imagines that the authenticity of the Toscanelli correspondence was demolished by Vignaud, is invited to read Dr. Molinari's reconstruction. He brings out the interest of Toscanelli in two mysterious envoys from the Far East (as they claimed to be), and shows the significant connection between the curious language of Columbus's Letter of Credence from the sovereigns, and the letters of the Florentine physician. To the question of who inserted which postils in the Imago Mundi and the Historia Rerum in the Biblioteca Colombina, he brings a fresh and convincing demonstration that Christopher Columbus always prefaced his important postils and other writings by a small cross; and this same cross is found at the head of the Toscanelli letter in the back of Columbus's copy of the Historia Rerum, although it is mysteriously absent from Vignaud's "facsimile" of the document.

The post-Columbian portion of this book is a summary and analysis of the later voyages to America, and of those of Magellan, Loaysa and Diego García to the Spice Islands. It is a pity that these able,

informing and original chapters are not annotated, for the routes of Vespucci on his later voyages, of Solís and of others, are so open to diverse interpretations, that one wishes to know the process by which the author reached his conclusions. Dr. Molinari shows himself more favorable than any earlier Spanish writer to the claims of the Portuguese, and he restores Sebastian Cabot to the eminence from which Harrisse so rudely thrust him half a century ago.

Dr. Molinari and his publishers have tried a notable experiment in bookmaking. Near the back of the book, between text and index, are fifty beautiful maps in four colors, illustrating all the vovages from Columbus to Cabrillo. Unfortunately these maps are very faulty in execution. Those illustrating Columbus's voyages, founded largely on Navarrete, treat the long discarded Turks Island landfall with respect, extend the Admiral's route too far west along Cuba, and even enter the breaking shoals in mid-ocean reported by an imaginative naval officer in 1802. Although the reader is warned against the authenticity of some reputed sail-tracks by question marks, several other routes of discoverers that are purely conjectural, or of which only the starting and finishing points are known, such as Columbus's return passages in 1496 and 1504, Ponce de León's voyage to Florida, and that of Esteban Gómez, are laid down with the same certainty as those of which we have exact data. Gaspar Corte-Real is carried right to the mouth of Hudson's Bay; John Cabot on his first voyage sails from Cape Race to Cape Chidley and back, although most authorities are agreed that his landfall was on Cape Breton Island and that he did not proceed beyond Nova Scotia before returning; Bastidas is credited with the discovery of the Gulf of San Blas, although it is almost certain that he sailed no further west than the Gulf of Darien. The best maps are those that illustrate, in considerable detail, the voyage of Magellan, and of the sub-equatorial voyages of 1525-1540.

S. E. MORISON.

Lieutenant Commander, U. S. N. R.

Bolivar: The Life of an Idealist. By EMIL LUDWIG. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1942. Pp. xi, 362. \$3.50.)

This is a masterly work on the immortal Liberator. It is not merely that the author has written an excellent piece of literature. The world has come to expect masterpieces of literature from Emil Ludwig. The work before us is masterly rather because of the genius displayed in interpreting this great historic figure. It is comforting, at least it is comforting to reviewer, to find an author who dares to

make the comparisons and contrasts which Ludwig does in this work. Many of our authors are too timid to say what is on their minds in dealing with great personalities such as that of Bolívar. This series of masterly portraits is by far the best appraisal of the life and work of the illustrious son of Venezuela thus far written in any language. It is the work of the artist Emil Ludwig at his best!

Ludwig finds that Bolívar is a bundle of contradictions and versatilities. To him Bolívar is above all else the poet, the seer, the lover. Bolívar is the amateur who by daring emerges the victor in many of the crises in the war for the liberation of Spanish South America. It is unfortunate that the author should have allowed himself to fall into the habit, so common among the uninformed these days, to speak only of South America, as though South America and Latin America were synonymous. Simón Bolívar does not belong merely to South America, or even to Spanish America. He belongs to the whole Spanish race—in North and Central as well as in South America, and even to Old Spain herself. And by all means also to the Caribbean. We may, on the other hand, readily agree with Ludwig that Simón Bolívar was the American, as contrasted with José de San Martín who was the European.

The author deals first with Bolívar as the dandy, the rich young man, let loose in the world in order to find himself and the stage for his endeavors. A man early attracted to women, married at the age of nineteen, widower at the age of twenty, and a playboy with women forever thereafter. Ludwig names some of the more famous of these clinging creatures but admits there were many more besides. The reviewer is surprised to find Ludwig ignoring the rumors in and about old Chuquisaca of the mother of Bolívar's son. Bolívar was the lover always, a veritable slave of the grande passion, loving the rôle of the idol of the fair damsels the whole world over. Instance his intense satisfaction at being waited upon by fair women: having wreaths placed upon his brow by the fair ones, and tripping "the light fantastic toe" all hours of the night and morning.

No less interesting is Ludwig's interpretation of his hero in the period which he calls "The Ordeal." This is the period in which the young American returns to America after his second voyage to Europe with his tutor. This tutor had been gaining an ever-increasing dominance over him. The young man is anxious to put into practice in his homeland many of the ideas of his tutor and of the many famous men whom he had met and others whose works he had studied. He seeks to elevate his countrymen of Spanish America, and the

whole world, to the place dreamed of for them by the immortal Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Alexander von Humboldt et al.

The author draws a series of portraits of Bolívar the Liberator with the touch of the genius. Here again Ludwig makes his hero intensely human. Indeed it is in his ability to make Bolívar so intensely human that Ludwig triumphs. In this part of the work Ludwig draws a remarkable contrast between Bolivar and San Martín. He is eminently fair to both men. He sees in them two very, very different personalities. He points out the weaknesses as well as the greatness in both: Bolívar growing ever more and more avid of power for power's sake, San Martín who never quite arrives, at least in his greatest endeavors. Men who do not trust the people, but who want the people to seize upon the movement for independence and bring it to a successful end. Bolívar receives at the hands of Ludwig a very full treatment as "The Dictator." The "Guayaquil Question" receives an excellent appraisal. It is in the solution of this question that many of us find it so difficult to defend Bolívar. We see in him in this delicately complex question so much that is a downright raw disregard for fairness that marks much of his career as dictator. Then there is the work of the Dictator Bolívar in Lower and Upper Peru, too well known to need comment here. Here emerges Bolivar as the Dictator par excellence, everything to be molded to one great end: the unification of the whole of the Americas, not excepting even Greenland.

And finally there is the portrait of Bolívar as the "Don Quixote" of the Americas. How aptly Ludwig treats him in this rôle! Again Ludwig introduces, as he has done before each of the other four chapters, a thought from his favorite poet Goethe. Very apt it is, too. Goethe declares: "Only he who is most sensitive can be most severe. He must steel himself with tough armor to protect himself against harsh blows; and very often this armor becomes too heavy for him." This is the period of tragedies. Here Ludwig contrasts Bolívar with Napoleon. He finds that Bolívar was much more the puppet of philosophy than was Napoleon. He finds that the work of Bolivar was constructive whereas Napoleon was destructive. The reviewer is unable to accept this verdict of the learned author. Much as the reviewer would like to give the greater credit to Bolívar he is obliged to say that of the two men Napoleon dreamed the greater dreams and set the seal of approval upon greater liberating movements. Both men were alike in that they feared anarchy above all else. Both wanted highly centralized governments so long as the people concerned needed them. The reviewer would even go so far

as to say that Bolívar like Napoleon wanted the countries which he helped to liberate come under his own native country. But, as with Napoleon, there was the revolt among the very people whom he had liberated: in Bolivia, founded and named after him, the return of his beloved Sucre to Venezuela to be assassinated only a few months before he himself died, and the rise to power of two men for whom he had done so much: Andrés Santa Cruz in Bolivia and Juan José Flores in Ecuador. Then came the end at Santa Marta, and freedom, and glory.

The mechanics of printing and binding are good. There is a picture of Bolívar on the flyleaf, the only pictorial material in the book. The publishers have failed, as so many of even our very best publishers fail, to print the Spanish words, proper as well as common words, correctly. Some day it is to be hoped that publishers will learn that there are words that cannot be accurately Anglicized.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

The Inter-American System: A Canadian View. By John P. Humphrey. (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1942. Pp. xi, 329. \$3.00.)

This is an historical interpretation and contemporary analysis of the Pan-American movement to see what part Canada ought to play in it, if any. The author has shown great skill and accuracy in summarizing the multifarious activities of Pan-Americanism: the nine diplomatic conferences, the treaties and conventions, now nearly a hundred; the infinite litany of resolutions, declarations, recommendations, tributes and homages; the 159 special conferences; and the fifty-one inter-American organizations. One marvels at the ingenuity with which he has been able to extract the meaning of these and compress it into a few chapters.

Most international lawyers are indifferent historians and most historians weak lawyers. This professor of law is no exception. He shows a refracted historical perspective in assessing the development of the United States as a Continental Republic and the resulting significance of its power for freedom today. He fails to see that the United States historically has been a bulwark against imperialism in the New World, rather than a selfish practitioner of it. He does not understand the real nature of that imperialism which developed between 1898 and 1921, nor the reasons for its liquidation between 1921 and 1936. He reflects constantly and uncritically questionable in-

dictments like "Yankee imperialism" and "dollar diplomacy." One example of such loose innuendo is the statement (p. 112): "The five Central American republics, however, were to be denied the right of revolution until after the Montevideo Conference." The fact is that the five Central American nations denied it to themselves, by the quintuple treaties of 1907, and 1922, and the United States supported them as long as that treaty régime lasted, until 1934. If the United States had recognized revolutionary governments in Central America during this period, the same spirit would doubtless be quick to accuse the United States of frustrating their effort for constitutional stability! It is difficult to see how the Government at Washington could decently have withheld its moral support from the Central American regional peace structure. Numerous other unsympathetic asides do not seem to be quite fair historically.

After examining the whole inter-American structure the author finds it now good, a practical example of regional confederation, and under the leadership of the United States a possible regional unit in a new world organization. He concludes that Canada, together with the other American nations, must work for the creation of an organized international community based on the principles of justice and democracy. "In so doing she will be serving her own best interest, the interest of the hemisphere, and ultimately the interest of the universal world community." The book was written before Pearl Harbor.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Yale University.

South America and Hemisphere Defense. By J. Fred Rippy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941. Pp. xi, 101. Cloth, \$1.50.)

The mechanical features of this neat little volume harmonize perfectly with the author's clear conciseness in presenting to his audience and his readers the minimal essentials for an appreciation of the place of South America in the broad picture of our country's foreign policy. It comprises a brief introduction and four lectures which were delivered in 1941 as the third in Louisiana State University's series, the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.

In the first three lectures, "The Evolution of the American System," "Resources and Politics of South America," and "Commercial Relations," Professor Rippy skillfully summarizes material which, in

the main, he had already presented to the public in an extended list of works, Latin America in World Politics, and others.

The "meatiest" of the lectures is the last, "Tierra Dorada." Here the consequences of Professor Beard's "Golden Glow" of the 1920's, insofar as it related to South America, are described with a wealth of suggestive and sometimes startling figures. Its careful reading is recommended to all who are interested in knowing how to win debtors and influence investors. If you wish to secure a monopoly of the flotation of loans in a country, try offering the president's son \$416,000 to assist you. It may secure you the rich privilege of selling \$90,000,000 of bonds at a profit of 5 to 7.8 per cent! Professor Rippy observes that "The bankers themselves must have been astonished at the easy profits accumulated through these transactions. The United States was filled with gilded innocents; only engraved paper was needed to rub gold from them" (p. 92). That this condition of affairs has been fundamentally altered is made clear in the author's three-point comparison of the new with the former financing system in South America: "(1) The contribution to the development of South America and the rest of Latin America was being made by all the people of the United States and not merely by those who once indulged in the purchase of bonds. (2) The motive for the investment was not the highest return on the capital but the security and general welfare of Latin America. (3) The investment bankers were deprived of their feast; they had no spread at all. Perhaps Latin-American grafters were also excluded" (p. 100).

The special student will be disappointed that the volume is not equipped with the usual academic aids of footnotes and bibliography, but those omissions are, under the circumstances, understandable. A critic who wished to carp might question the use of the word "defense" in the title, for that matter is involved only very indirectly. But such criticisms are decidedly minor. The book is an excellent brief statement of the political and economic relations of the United States with the countries of South America.

WATT STEWART.

New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.

The Fight for the Panama Route: The Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay-Herrán Treaty. By DWIGHT CARROLL MINER. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xv, 469. \$4.00.)

This comprehensive volume contains a scholarly and detailed account of the struggle between the proponents of the canal routes through Panama and Nicaragua, and of the acquisition of the Panama

Canal Zone by the United States. The author has treated the complex story of the period from 1898 to 1904 in great detail, after having covered the span from Christopher Columbus to William McKinley necessarily rather sketchily in two introductory chapters. The first phase of the "Battle of the Routes," which ended in temporary victory for the supporters of Panama with the signing of the Spooner Act, is depicted in the next two chapters. The remaining seven chapters pertain to the negotiating of the Hay-Herrán treaty and its defeat in Colombia, the revolution in Panama, and the negotiation and ratification of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty.

Very little of the information in this volume is unavailable elsewhere in printed form, but the clear interpretation and the detailed presentation make the work valuable. Practically no important factor of the interesting machinations and dramatic incidents is omitted. The political and personal contests in the United States, the negotiations with England that led to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the activities of William Nelson Cromwell and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the vacillation and cupidity of Colombian leaders, the lack of any attempt at understanding between Americans and Colombians, the revolution in Panama, and the hasty acquisition of the Canal Zone are treated appropriately and skillfully. The thorough analysis of the Colombian side of the story is particularly well done.

The author appears to have examined most of the available sources, printed and manuscript, and most of the secondary works bearing upon his subject. Several useful monographs and magazine articles seem to have escaped his attention. Perhaps the Tomás Herrán Papers in the possession of Georgetown University might have contributed to the story.

The reviewer believes that an author usually should give the full name of a person when the person is first mentioned in a book. This author often failed to bother with that detail and he sometimes neglected it in his index (Bowlin, Burnside, Coghlan, Corea, Du Bois, Glass, Hatfield, Hornby, Hubbard, Iglesias, Lull, McLean, Malmros, Pedrarias, Pinto, Pinzón, Potter, Rodríguez, Sánchez, Tascón, Young). Occasionally he conveniently omitted incomplete names from the index (Lamar, Cambon, Dichman, Albán, Andrade, Zárate). Other names given in full fail to appear in the index (Samuel Lewis, Gerardo Lewis, Angel María Herrera, Julio J. Fábrega, Samuel Quintero C., Alejandro V. Orillac, Pompilio Gutiérrez, María de la Ossa). The reviewer was somewhat confused at times by the author's apparent inconsistencies in the use of names. For example, the index contains "Caballero, Lucas E. Nieto, see Nieto Caballero," and "Nieto

Caballero, Lucas E." In the text one finds Lucas Caballero, Lucas E. Nieto Caballero, Nieto Caballero, and L. E. Nieto Caballero, in the order given. One wonders if Boyd, Manuel Espinosa B., and Manuel Espinosa B. Boyd refer to the same person.

The reviewer noted some carelessness in the use of quotations. For instance, two errors appear in the quotation on p. 145, four errors in that on pp. 340-341, nine errors in that on pp. 350-351, and three errors in the quotations on p. 375. The maps are poorly executed and inadequate. The reviewer also disapproves of the use by Dr. Allan Nevins in his excellent foreword of the phrase "the North American acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone." If the acquisition had been made by Brazil, would Dr. Nevins refer to it as the South American acquisition?

Perhaps some of the faultfinding of the reviewer is petty. Certainly the defects mentioned do not materially detract from the main story. The author has produced a meritorious and exceedingly useful study of this national and international controversy, and has made a solid contribution to the historiography of the Central American canal problems.

WILLIAM D. McCAIN.

Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

The Gaucho. Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance. By MADALINE WALLIS NICHOLS. (Durham: N. C.: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 152. \$3.00.)

To many the term "gaucho" is largely the Argentine equivalent of the Spanish vaquero, and this peculiar type to which it applies is often likened to the western cowboy of North America. Like the latter the real gaucho of the Pampas has become obscured by a veil of romance which has enveloped him since the prosaic inventions of the barbed-wire fence and the windmill doomed him to extinction. Now he appears in retrospect a colorful figure symbolizing the ideals of self-sufficient independence, stoic courage and personal freedom; cast in this heroic and glamorous mold he lives on in the hearts and popular fiction of the Plata peoples. In her slim volume Dr. Nichols has performed a useful service by limning in sharp outline the true gaucho, the gaucho of history rather than the gaucho of imagination or nostalgia. If this primitive type did begin in La Plata as a transplanted Spanish vaquero and ended as a cattle hand of the Argentine plains, it is the intermediate stage which represents the authentic gaucho. The latter came into being as a class during the second half of the eighteenth century when he found it to his marked advantage to become an illegal hunter of hides which could be exchanged for desirable contraband goods smuggled into the Plata region by French, English, Dutch and Portuguese traders evading the monopolistic control of Spain. The gaucho was, in fact, an outlaw scorned and despised by those who were not averse to availing themselves of his extraordinary skills as a horseman and hunter of cattle; though the more respectable elements of society were not above profiting from the gaucho's activities, they continued to regard him as an outcast. The extreme crudity and barbarity of the gaucho resulting from his existence outside the pale of the law and civilization made him an example of a reversion to the primitive on the frontier. Not until this class spectacularly proved its worth in the War of Independence against Spain did it emerge from the rôle of frontier badmen and assume that of national heroes. But with this apotheosis the gaucho began slowly but surely his backward trek to the status of a hired cattle hand, for the decreeing of direct and open trade transformed his former contraband activities into honest work and already other factors pointed to his ultimate extinction as a type.

Dr. Nichols' book is divided into two parts, one expositive, the other bibliographical, the latter occupying over half of the book. In an introduction and eight chapters, some of which are limited to three or four pages, the gaucho is defined, and his manner of living, the pastoral society in which he found himself, the vaquerias, contraband traders, his part as a frontiersman and in war are each described successively. In the final chapter the "Gaucho of Romance" is treated rather sketchily considering how greatly this figure permeates the Argentine imagination and letters. Indeed, contrary to the usual situation, one feels that the book suffers from overcondensation and that some of the wealth of material indicated in the footnotes might with advantage be shifted into the text.

The long bibliographical part is itself divided into two sections, one of 378 items relating to the "real" gaucho, and the other listing 1,053 works of criticism, imagination, art and music of the "Gaucho of Romance." There are doubtless some omissions of useful articles and monographs, but both the general reader and the specialist have ample reason to be grateful to the author for placing within their reach such a compact and indispensable reference work characterized by painstaking research on a subject of such genuine human interest.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Historia de la Nación Argentina (desde los orígenes hasta la organización definitiva en 1862). Edited by Ricardo Levene. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1941, 1942. Vols. IX and X. Pp. xix, 774, and xvii, 915.)

These impressive volumes are a continuation of the monumental work of Argentina's National Academy of History the first volume of which appeared in 1936. (For comment on Vol. III see the *Review*, XVIII, 255, 256.) Under the direction of Professor Levene, the historians who have contributed to these volumes have maintained the high standard set by their predecessors.

Volume IX is subtitled "Historia de las Provincias," Volume X, "Historia de las Provincias, límites interprovinciales y Territorios Nacionales." The collaborators in the preparation of the former, with the subjects they treated, were Angel Acuña, Corrientes; César Pérez Colman y Antonio Sagarna, Entre Ríos; Manuel M. Cervera y José Luis Busaniche, Santa Fé; Antonio Salvadores y Roberto H. Marfany, Buenos Aires; Enrique Martínez Paz, Córdoba; Alfredo Gargaro, Santiago del Estero; Manuel Lizondo Barda, Tucumán. Authors of the latter volume were Julio Raffo de la Reta y Edmundo Correas, Mendoza; Juan Rómulo Fernández y Margarita Mugnos de Escudero, San Juan; Reynaldo A. Pastor y Víctor Saá, San Luis; Dardo de la Vega Díaz, La Rioja; P. Alfonso de la Vega, Catamarca; Miguel Solá y Atilio Cornejo, Salta; P. Miguel Angel Vergara y Julio Aramburu, Jujuy; y Alfredo Gargaro y Hernán F. Gómez, the questions of interprovincial limits and the National Territories.

These scholars are or were professors of history in colleges of their respective provinces, directors of museums, or occupants of other high positions. The recognition which they have already achieved and the fact that they have worked under the direction of Argentina's dean of historical letters, inspires beforehand a considerable degree of confidence in their work. A reading of portions of these volumes is sufficient to prove that this confidence is not misplaced. One must expect that the collaboration of so large a number of writers will produce a result that is not completely uniform in excellence, but here the level is high.

A positive beginning has here been made at cultivating the field which, with us, has produced our large, and sometimes rich, harvest of state and local histories. In Argentina this is a particularly fertile field, since national unity was not actually consummated until half a century after the movement for independence was inaugurated. Highly dramatic and thus intensely interesting is a great part of the

story of interprovincial wars, of the struggles of rival caudillos, of contests between the central government and different provinces or groups of provinces. Sometimes the story is told with less detail than one could wish, but the details can be added later. Here is an admirable and solid framework for future historical building.

Of particular interest to non-Argentine scholars will be the bibliographies appended to each chapter. Though original documents and newspapers have not been neglected, the greater part of the bibliographical items are standard secondary works.

In his prologue to the two volumes, the director general writes, "This publication will be influential, or so we hope, in the reform of the history programs of our educational institutes in the sense that they ought to include the history of the Provinces and National Territories." One may well expect that this will be the case.

The typography is excellent. The illustrations—portraits of provincial leaders, facsimiles of documents, signatures, and title pages, contemporary scenes—are numerous and enlightening. The sole criticism of the mechanics of the work that can justly be made is that the binding is rather insubstantial for such heavy volumes. But this is a very minor criticism of an excellent and highly important work for which all those concerned deserve high praise.

WATT STEWART.

New York State College for Teachers.

The Man Who Sold Louisiana: The Career of François Barbé-Marbois. By E. Wilson Lyon. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. Pp. xix, 240. \$2.75.)

"This book," the author tells us, "is the first full-length study of Barbé-Marbois ever to appear in any language." Well, let it pass for that. But the sketch in the Biographie universelle (Michaud) can hardly be called skimpy or indeed unsatisfactory, and the same may be said of the sketch by Lucien Delabrousse in La Grande Encyclopédie. What the reviewer readily concedes is that Dr. Lyon has given us a fresh study of Barbé-Marbois, based on primary sources, and that he has made the dry bones of history live again.

Barbé-Marbois, son of a merchant, was born in 1745; he died ninety-two years later a marquis and peer. From Louis XV to Louis Philippe he was almost continuously in the service of the various sovereigns and governments of France. He was secretary to the second French legation to the United States; he was on intimate terms of friendship with many of the founding fathers of our republic;

while here he married the daughter of the governor of Pennsylvania. He left the United States to become intendant in the French colony of St. Domingue. After a stormy career in France during the Revolution, which culminated in his exile to the penal colony of Guiana, he became minister of the public treasury under Napoleon. He negotiated the sale of Louisiana in 1803 and regarded his part in this transaction as the greatest event of his career. He was the financial genius back of the Napoleonic wars. Under the Restoration he sat in the Chamber of Peers and exerted his influence on the side of moderation. The July Revolution of 1830 caught him napping; but he quickly adjusted himself, as was his wont under such circumstances, and served the new dynasty as loyally as he had served the old. The story of his life illustrates the rich opportunity open to the man of parts and good judgment in a period of upheaval.

Dr. Lyon must have enjoyed greatly the preparation of this neat little book. He spent the summer of 1937 in France ransacking the various archives of Paris and the Bibliothèque Nationale for pertinent material; he consulted the departmental archives in regions where Barbé-Marbois owned property and frequently sojourned, and he made pleasant contacts with scholarly Frenchmen who were able to facilitate his research; and in the United States he turned over manuscript material in several depositories. He seemed to know in advance what material was pertinent, for every item falls neatly into place in the flowing narrative. The reader rises from a perusal of the book with a clear mental picture of Barbé-Marbois, not stiff and formalized, but human and vitalized, against an adequate but not overemphasized background of revolution and reaction and revolution again.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

University of North Carolina.

Desarrollo político y social de Chile desde la constitución de 1833. By RICARDO DONOSO. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942. Pp. 211. Paper.)

This small volume on the political and social development of Chile since 1833 was prepared as a section of the *Historia de América* edited by Dr. Ricardo Levene of Argentina. It is now reprinted by the author with some additional material. Sr. Donoso, director of the National Archive at Santiago, is one of the most active of the younger generation of Chilean historians. In this essay he has presented a readable and concise survey of the course of Chilean history from 1833 to 1937. Particular attention is given to indicating the char-

acter and contribution of those who have played the leading rôles in the shifting scenes of this century of republican experience. In turn there are discussed the phases through which the history of the country has passed: conservative oligarchy, liberal oligarchy, presidentialism, parliamentary oligarchy, military anarchy and the return to legality. There is also a chapter on the War of the Pacific and an added one on the boundary questions which have occurred with neighboring republics.

In dealing with contemporary history and attempting to appraise actions of living political leaders the work of the historian is apt to encounter criticism. Sr. Donoso has not escaped. The most severe critic apparently is ex-president Alessandri, who, under the title Historia de América: Rectificaciones al tomo IX (Santiago, 1941), has written an extensive defense of his activities taking exception to the presentation of Sr. Donoso. As a result the author has appended to the volume a refutation, in which he vigorously maintains the strict accuracy of his statements. A list of the outstanding historical works on Chile is included.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Washington, D. C.

Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo. By RICHARD PAT-TEE. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941. Pp. xx, 437.)

This is really a biography of Ecuador, 1830-1875, with special emphasis on the life and constructive work of the great dictator-statesman, Gabriel García Moreno.

Four chapters are devoted to the treatment of the country, its people, and political history to 1860. Then comes a discussion of the early life and training of García Moreno, his system, his religious reforms, the crisis with Colombia and Peru, and the growth of internal opposition.

Chapter XI is a summary and an appraisal of the first administration. The interregnum, the Constitution of 1869, and the second administration are covered in four chapters—followed by a general appraisal of the second administration. The assassination story of August 6, 1875, is recounted in an admirably detached manner. Epilogo (Chapter XVIII) concludes the work.

It is difficult to see how a biography of such a controversial figure as García Moreno could be "absolutamente objectivo." However, Dr. Pattee's appraisal of him attempts a fair balance between the worshipers and detractors. "García Moreno es el personaje tenebroso y sombrío, el villano de la historia o el carácter luminoso y preclaro,

paladín de la verdad, según las dos versiones que generalmente circulan." (P. 2.) "García Moreno, obviamente, no fué ni santo ni diablo, sino hombre de cualidades indiscutibles, de arranques extraordinarios y una visión y actuación preclaras." (P. 427.)

The "Garcian" system was authoritarian—not necessarily totalitarian. Conservatism meant authority, liberalism meant individualism. Therefore, individual liberty must be sacrificed to the principle of collective authority. Liberalism itself was merely the doctrine of illusion. Such a philosophy would clearly justify the dictator's arbitrary and bloody purges of his political enemies.

The constructive work of García Moreno makes better reading. He was an indefatigible worker. His vigilance was proverbial, his scientific spirit evident in most of his acts. His life was all action and energy. Although his judgment and severity might be criticized, his sincerity was above question. (Chapter XVIII.)

E. T. PARKS.

Berea College.

Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750. A Study of the Influence of Commerce on Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century. By Jean O. McLachlan. With a foreword by Harold Temperley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940. Pp. xvi, 249. \$3.50.)

This compact and scholarly volume started as an outgrowth of "Professor Temperley's article in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society on 'The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear.' " The author further states that this article "... solved one problem brilliantly but there remained several points which were not quite clear. and the attempt to clarify these ultimately led to an investigation of Anglo-Spanish relations during half a century." The definite contribution claimed for the work is "that the trade of Old Spain and the Mediterranean was, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, always more important to England than the trade of New Spain and of the West Indies." Miss McLachlan had access to the South Sea Company Papers, now in the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and hence gives a view of the Company as partially guilty of provoking the "War of Jenkins' Ear." However, a reading of both foreword and introduction makes it seem evident that Miss Mc-Lachlan did not visit the archives of Spain, in Simancas, Madrid and Sevilla in person but, rather, depended on officials in these repositories to supply her with copies of documents. As a result her conclusions, while novel and exciting, lack the conclusive quality that a

complete survey of the diplomatic interchange would give. It is to be hoped, in this connection, that Professor E. G. Hildner, Jr., of Illinois College, who actually surveyed the records in both England and Spain, in their full sweep, may be able to publish his results—somewhat at variance on the American vs. European influence with the version of the author of this book—at a not too distant date in the future. The work is most carefully edited and save for the fact that the authoress was "England-bound," is a most useful contribution to the scant body of studies in the field.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763. By Verne E. Chate-Lain. [Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 511.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1940. Pp. vii, 192. Maps. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.50.)

So fruitless and costly had been early Spanish attempts to occupy Florida that in 1561 it was officially decided not to waste more blood and treasure in efforts to colonize it. This decision was hurriedly reversed, however, when the next year French Huguenots settled on the St. Johns River and became a threat to the treasure fleets passing through the New Bahama Channel and to the valuable colonies to the south and west. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was immediately dispatched to drive out the French and to secure Florida against further By 1567 garrisons were established on both sides of the peninsula and well up the Atlantic coast, and within twenty years they were supplemented by mission stations. It was hoped that agriculture could be developed to make the colony self-supporting, but this failed to materialize and throughout the first Spanish period Florida remained a land of missions and presidios dependent on a subsidy from New Spain. During the first century after Menéndez de Avilés the number of priests and soldiers combined scarcely reached three hundred, so that the Franciscan friars who worked among the Indians constituted the main defense of the frontier. More reliance was placed on the military after 1670 when the Carolinians became a serious menace to the missions, but the change of policy came too late to save those of Guale and Apalache, which, by 1705, were destroyed, and with them Spain's hold on the territory outside the Florida peninsula. The defense system was then recast; the number of soldiers was increased and that of the friars diminished, more adequate financial support for the colony was made available, and St. Augustine was made one of the best fortified points in America in order to protect Cuba, the New Bahama Channel and the Caribbean area more effectively.

In 1936 the St. Augustine Historical Program, working in conjunction with the Carnegie Institution of Washington, began a systematic collection of material for Florida history, and the investigation and preservation of historical sites, buildings and other remains, and planned a series of studies on the subject. The predominantly military character of Florida during the first Spanish period makes it appropriate that the first of the series should be *The Defenses of Florida*, 1565 to 1763.

In this book Mr. Chatelain has traced the development of Spain's policy in Florida and its relation to the empire as a whole. Since every phase of life in the colony was intimately connected with defense, abundant space has been devoted to economic, political, social and religious as well as geographical and strategical problems. The greater part of the work, however, is devoted to fortifications in and around St. Augustine, one chapter stressing the military considerations which led to the selection of this town as the capital of Spanish Florida, while three others give the history of the military structures erected there. The Castillo de San Marcos and its predecessors receive the most attention.

The text is supplemented by voluminous well-prepared notes and twenty-two maps, all but four of which were taken from originals made between 1593 and 1791. On the other hand, one senses an incompleteness in the descriptions of fortifications outside St. Augustine, which have not undergone the thorough investigation provided for by the St. Augustine Historical Program. Mr. Chatelain himself points out the need for a study of the influence of Havana fortifications on those of Florida. His predilection for things Spanish has undoubtedly been his sustaining motive in the painstaking collection of material for the present volume.

Candler College.

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest. 1680-1682. By Charles Wilson Hackett. Translations of original documents by Charmion C. Shelby. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942. 2 vols. Pp. ecx, 262; xii, 430. Set, \$10.00.)

Of the twelve volumes planned in the Coronado Historical Series, volumes eight and nine deal with this Pueblo Indian revolt which drove from New Mexico the Spaniards who had taken possession of the land in 1598. And more. Under the successful leadership of Indian Popé, the Pueblos resisted for a dozen years the attempts of the white men, under Governor Otermín, to return.

Professor Hackett describes his story as the revolt of a people striving to defend their freedom and mode of life—a symbol of the deepest aspirations of mankind. Ironically, the documents themselves which make up over half of volume eight and all of volume nine were of Spanish origin and most unsympathetic to all Indian aspirations for the free life.

The long introduction (xix-cex) is largely a combining and reworking of three earlier studies published by Dr. Hackett.¹ It tells the story of the organization of the Pueblo rebellion, its outbreak in the several pueblos, the Spanish retreat, and the Spanish return expedition, after help had been received from Mexico, to determine the expediency of an immediate reconquest and resettlement and the sad decision as to its impracticability.

The balance of these two thick volumes, devoted to the translation of the documents covering these years of Spanish borderland history, adds to our collection of translated documentary source material for the history of the old Spanish west and southwest. One cannot help a wistful regret, however, that photostats of the original documents—with, possibly, Spanish transcriptions of those documents as a concession to the weakness of non-paleographers—had not been printed rather than the English translation. While such photostating of original documents would undoubtedly lessen the exclusive value of University document collections, it would nevertheless be no more expensive to print and would provide a more sound basis for future scholarship. Since we are given translations rather than originals, however, it is fortunate that a scholar of the conscientious thoroughness of Dr. Shelby did the work involved.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Crusaders of the Rio Grande. By J. Manuel Espinosa. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1942. Pp. xx and 410. \$4.00.)

The quivering wrath with which Dr. Espinosa struggles at mention of a thesis by one Jessie B. Bailey, entitled Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico, 1692-1704, leads the reviewer to suspect that Espinosa was goaded by its publication into writing

¹ See The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association (XV, 93-147), The Southwestern Historical Quarterly (XVI, 137-168, 259-276), and Old Santa Fe (III, 44-84, 103-132).

Crusaders of the Rio Grande. If so, history owes Miss Bailey a vote of thanks. For Crusaders of the Rio Grande is an excellent piece of reporting—the fundamental task of the historian—judiciously larded with interpretation, soundly documented, and carefully organized.

Here is the theme: "The conquest and founding, and the reconquest and refounding of New Mexico, in the first and last decades of the seventeenth century, are chapters in the history of Spanish American frontier administration and Indian policy. They are also phases of a Christian crusading spirit that was old in Spain before New Mexico was occupied." The theme is illustrated by a recital of how the necessary reconquest was effected by Vargas. For his title, Espinosa derives from his own statement, "Men of the Cross, aided by the strong arm of zealous frontier captains . . . were the crusaders of the Río Grande."

From the fact that the author is assistant professor of history at Loyola University, in Chicago, and that Crusaders of the Rio Grande was published by the Institute of Jesuit History in that city, it is to be expected that the deeds of the Men of the Cross aforementioned would dominate the book. There is a surprising lack of such emphasis. As its subtitle declares, this work simply is "the story of Don Diego de Vargas and the reconquest and refounding of New Mexico." In fact, it is so exclusively the story of Vargas that the title might almost have been in the singular rather than in the plural.

Vargas the Reconqueror is shown to have been a conscientious and resourceful administrator of a shaky political unit, constantly compelled to be on his guard against political saboteurs, subjected to countless vengeful humiliations—and always the victim of the vacillation of his superiors in Mexico City. Few things are worse!

Espinosa writes soundly, sometimes notably, as in this passage so typical of all the Spanish conquest of the Americas: "For the Spaniards it was a matter of life or death, without compromise, among a people who had committed treason against their God and their king, and the spirit of the reconquest of Spain from the Moslem infidel still ran in their veins. For the Pueblo Indians, who were not warlike by nature, it was a noble and just defense of life, property, and religion at any cost."

The faults are minor: the occasional pointless use of a Spanish word where an English one would have been better; sometimes the failure to recognize the dramatic highlight of the narrative at hand. And Espinosa exhibits an unfortunate trick of construction wherein, in summing up legal charges or similar data, he phrases the accusa-

tion as if it were his own; for instance, "The letter further harped on an ancient chord, calculated ever to arouse kingly suspicion: Vargas defrauded the royal treasury to the extent of over 224,000 pesos." Espinosa never believed Vargas was guilty of this, but one does not discover that fact for five pages of the text!

The epilogue is a splendid summation; the bibliography is organized in praiseworthy fashion; and the index—too often a weak element in an historical source—is gratifyingly complete. J. Manuel Espinosa has contributed a sound and an entertaining work.

MAURICE RIES.

Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State.

La obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767. By Gerard Decorme, S.J. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa é Hijos, 1941. Tomo Primero. Pp. xx, 520. \$12.00. Tomo Segundo. Pp. xxii, 640. Illustrated. \$15.00.)

This work embodies the results of thirty years of labor by the foremost student of Mexican Jesuit history. Scholars in the field recognize the part played by the order in colonial America, and they find the subject especially attractive from the standpoint of materials available. In fact the documentation, in original sources and in monographic literature—old and new—extends so widely that few possess sufficient mastery of the tools and data to warrant the presentation of a complete narrative, with a title so absolute as La Obra. Decorme calls his own composition a compendium, a useful but not a final history. His modesty, while truthful, should not obscure his success. There are those, indeed, who would prefer that someone not of the order write its story, in the interest of a broad point of view showing the interaction of other elements in the situation with the direct line of activity of this religious body. Ordinary human limitations, however, would seem to preclude the possibility of such an achievement.

Nor is it necessary. The technical abilities of the author, combined with his dislike and avoidance of any ex parte treatment, have recommended him to the scholarly public. For the present task he prepared himself by the publication of two essential preliminaries, the Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República Mexicana (1816-1880) in two volumes issued respectively in 1914 and 1921, and his two-volume Menologio General de la Provincia de la Compañía en México printed in 1939. This done, he was in a position to formulate a competent organic account of the colonial epoch, and in particular to write a

straightforward story of the suppression of the order in the year 1767.

Three years before that suppression, Alegre had finished his classic Historia, a work that guided Bancroft, Bolton, and many other moderns. Decorme abandons the directly chronological method of Alegre, in favor of a topical and institutional treatment, and in so doing he has produced a clear narrative and one easily subject to critical analysis. Tomo I surveys the larger aspects of the field throughout the two centuries, 1572-1767. Tomo II deals only with the missions among the natives. The first volume, in five books, discusses successively the establishment of the centers in cities and towns and their individual developments, their strictly intellectual works. then the ministerial functions, the personnel, and finally the suppression. The sixth book is Tomo Segundo. It opens with a splendid overview of the missions, the geography, the native life, the general lines of missionary expansion, the main characters in the movement, their methods and measure of success. The following chapters are then singly devoted to each mission district, its organization, support, campaign in action, and—where this occurred—its incorporation into secular government.

This book is not "inside history" written with an eve specially focused on the edification of the brethren. It is done for the layman who wants to know what the order took in hand and tried to do. The topical arrangement reduces the possibility of presenting the more human aspects of the story, the struggle and clash of personalities in that turbulent colonial life. To supply for this void, Decorme devotes a large section (Tomo II, Libro IV, Capítulo I) to "Los Crímenes de los Jesuitas," with eight sections on the realistic events that cast shadows over grander achievements, and one given over to the "Falsos crímenes." Despite the objectivity of this treatment, one would wish to see a section bearing on the opinion of men outside the order in regard to its relations with other ecclesiastical and civil corporations. Though judgments of this type run the risk of partiality on the part of the author, a carefully annotated résumé of contemporary appreciation could complement the data here presented with painstaking care.

The style of writing is simple and factual, in keeping with the subtitle of *Compendio Histórico*. Whatever emphasis is found comes from the cumulative effect of remarkable deeds. A case in point is the account of Father Kino, an instance of historical composition of the highest order. Another is the overview of the missionary action, an essay which will surely be appreciated by those who deal in those

matters. In general the book is laid out with the aim of assisting other students. Its 118 maps and illustrations enable the reader to follow the tortuous ways of colonial geography and long-forgotten personalities. Sixty-four pages of index form a thorough frame of cross-reference. The thirteen pages of bibliography seem rather few, unless one recalls that this study is built for the most part on primary materials. For these, Decorme lists the classes of sources which he found in the domestic archives of the order, the public archives of Spain and Mexico and the Bancroft Library archives in Berkeley, and the collections in ten private libraries of Mexico. Some slight errors in typography appear to be due to the trials of proofing in exile—a condition imposed on the author during the past twentyeight years by an unhappy governmental policy. A few of the maps are too small for clarity of content. The book is beautifully printed. Footnoting is restrained, though sufficiently ample to guide an enquirer into the evidence for rare or moot points.

W. EUGENE SHIELS, S.J.

America Press, New York.

Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga. By Silvio Zavala. (México: El Colegio de México, 1941. Pp. 72. Paper.)

This slender volume consists of two lectures presented by the author in honor of the quadricentennial of the founding of Morelia delivered in the Colegio of San Nicolás de Morelia. One is entitled "La actitud doctrinal de Vasco de Quiroga ante la conquista y colonización de América" the other "El humanismo de Vasco de Quiroga." These brilliant little studies are based on wide research and show an excellent feeling for interpretation and a keen sense of historical values. The reviewer has urged on a number of occasions that someone should now write a full-length biography of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga. This suggestive little volume definitely indicates that a competent scholar for the task has been found.

The first lecture traces the changing views of Vasco de Quiroga concerning the treatment of the natives of the New World, and, in particular, gives a discerning exposition of his rôle as an exponent of Indian rights as an oidor of the second audiencia. In it he emerges as a powerful proponent of the view that a pacific conquest was superior to one of force. Nevertheless Zavala brings out clearly the difference between the view of Las Casas and that of Quiroga. For example, he points out that Las Casas admired the native cacique, whereas Quiroga denounced his tyranny and was stern in his oppo-

sition to the independence of the infidel. Like St. Augustine he believed that man should be compelled to adopt the better way of life for the sake of his eternal salvation. Even his view of the encomienda was different.

In the second lecture Zavala demonstrates the influence of the humanism of Erasmus and his follower Sir Thomas More on the ideas of not only Quiroga but also of Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico. In the two sections of his exposition he throws much light on the utopian experiments of the eminent prelate. With adequate reference to the literature of such experiments he exhibits the famous "Hospital—pueblo de Santa Fe" as a living attempt to realize the ideal community of the "Utopia." Too few who have studied Latin-American history have noted the existence and reality of this admirable human experiment and the general public is, needless to say, in complete ignorance of its existence. It is to be hoped that Dr. Zavala may find time from his valuable and multiform editorial tasks to remedy this situation and to give Vasco de Quiroga the true position in American history which his long and extraordinarily meritorious career deserves.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

Las encomiendas, según tasas y ordenanzas. By Guillermo Felitó Cruz and Carlos Monge Alfaro. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas.] (Buenos Aires: Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, Ltda., 1941. Pp. 243 + xxv pp. of appendix, and index. Paper.)

Once upon a time, when your reviewer was cutting his historical eye teeth, he wrote a short monograph on Henry IV of France. It was unlucky enough to attract the attention of Henri Hauser, who immediately pounced upon the bibliography, which lacked a couple of titles. "La bibliographie," wrote the great man, "est une science très utile!" I am glad to pass the good word along with regard to this volume by Feliú Cruz and Monge Alfaro. The publishers were aware of the lack and attempted to excuse it by saying that the MS was submitted to them in 1935—an excuse that to my mind is inexcusable. Since that time a very considerable body of research has been published. Lewis Hanke, Silvio Zavala, Robert Chamberlain, France Scholes, and your reviewer have written at least a dozen volumes on the subject. The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas must, therefore, accept the responsibility for the thin and unsatisfactory treatment of the historical background of the encomienda in

Chile. I find the second chapter, "Feudos y Encomiendas," particularly flat. It is a long and legalistic exposition of the differences between the two institutions which, at this late date, is decidedly old stuff.

It is not until the final and longest chapter that the authors get into original material, all of which is taken from the Toribio Medina collection at Santiago. Their treatment is a digest of pertinent documents and is commendable enough, save that it occurs to one that in the Archivo de Indias there is a great deal more of it and that prior to the date of writing (1935) it was readily accessible. It would also have made the Chilean story much more understandable (bibliography again) if the authors had included a comparison of the development of the encomienda in New Spain, especially among the Chichimeeas, who corresponded somewhat to the more warlike tribes of Chile.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

University of California, Berkeley.

Brothers of Doom. The Story of the Pizarros of Peru. By Hoffman Birney. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. x, 322. \$3.00.)

In this book Mr. Birney sets himself a very difficult task, namely, that of retelling in a graphic and modern style the oft-told story of the four Pizarro brothers and of their conquest of the Inca empire in western South America. On the whole, the task is accomplished exceedingly well.

At the beginning of the book the author indicates the source materials and the modern works upon which his own narrative is based. Although the coverage of these materials is fairly complete, there are some strange lacunae among the source-citations, chief among them being: Calvete de Estrella, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, and Pedro Sancho, all of whom would have been useful and none of whom is listed here. Even more useful would have been Diego Fernández, who is absent also.

There is a certain amount of mangling of proper names and of technical terms. Tampu-Tocco is given correctly spelled on p. 100, but on the same page it figures as "Tambu-Tocco" and on p. 106 as "Tambu-Tocca." On p. 107, the Quechua term, camaya-cuna, which means "officials," is translated as "head of a household," the real word for that being puric (plural, puriccuna). On p. 196, Pizarro is called "a marquis of Spain," instead of "a marquis of Castile."

These and many other trifling errors do not, however, detract seriously from the general excellence of the book. Its earliest chapters contain background facts related to Spain and to the opening phases of the Spanish conquests in America. From that point onward the career of the Pizarros is ably and vividly set forth, together with the processes whereby the great Inca empire and its amazing civilization were brought to ruin. Nor do the factional fights among the Conquerors themselves receive less than their proper measure of attention. The account of how the Marquis Francisco Pizarro was done to death by the outraged partisans of Diego de Almagro, the Lad, is particularly well worth reading.

The whole story is told with great dramatic effect, and in the course of it we find that Mr. Birney has used some of the sources which he fails to note in his bibliography—and he uses them well. The style is easy and flowing, and the tale is thickly sprinkled with mordant portrayals of individual actors in the bloody drama. It builds up to a magnificent climax in a superb account of the career of Gonzalo Pizarro and of the manner in which his rash wish to make Peru independent nearly three centuries ahead of time was finally crushed by the royal might of Castile.

Both students and general readers will do well to pay attention to this admirable book on an intricate historical subject which can never grow stale and which gains new and vigorous freshness from Mr. Birney's handling of it.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Pomfret, Connecticut.

La colección de documentos de Pedro de Angelis y el diario de Diego de Alvear. By Teodoro Becú and José Torre Revello. Con ilustraciones y Apéndice Documental. [Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, No. 75.] (Buenos Aires: Talleres s. a. Casa Jacobo Peuser, Ltda., 1941. Pp. 144, liv, 19.)

As the title indicates the volume under review comprises two separate studies. One is an analysis of the famous Colección de Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata; the other is a critical examination of a hitherto unknown text of the diary of Diego de Alvear, Spain's representative in the Spanish-Portuguese boundary commission.

Sr. Becu's study will be highly appreciated by both bibliographers and historians. As is well known, publication of the documents in the Angelis series was rather irregular. Pedro de Angelis had neither

the funds nor the technical equipment to insure publication of the documents in relatively large instalments. He was forced to resort to piecemeal publication in the form of cuadernos. These cuadernos were grouped into six volumes, and it has been generally assumed that Angelis published six volumes in all. Sr. Becú now announces the existence of a seventh volume which was to consist of two parts. Unfortunately Angelis never succeeded in publishing the second part.

The bibliographical analysis presented by Becú leaves little to be desired. Each volume is examined separately and minutely described. The author then proceeds to give complete bibliographical description of each of the documents which comprise the series. The list contains seventy entries arranged in order of their publication. Many entries are followed by more or less extensive notes.

The author quite properly abstains from evaluating the material. He does not, however, refrain from critical analysis within the realm of bibliographical research. Nor does Sr. Becú remain silent whenever opportunity presents itself to correct the many and often patently unjustified misconceptions concerning the activities of Pedro de Angelis as a scholar and historian. On numerous occasions Sr. Becú takes to task historians of the post-Rosas period who indiscriminately attacked Angelis and his work. With these men Sr. Becú has little patience, for many of them were guilty of the very shortcomings which they ascribed to Angelis.

In the matter of clarifying Angelis' position in Argentine historiography as well as in the purely bibliographical aspect of the study Sr. Becú seems to be on solid ground. He has sacrificed none of the precepts of scholarly investigation, and has never succumbed to the temptation of facile generalizations unsupported by evidence. Nevertheless, the study is readable and interesting throughout.

In the second part of the volume José Torre Revello undertakes a detailed examination of an unknown codex of the Diego de Alvear diary as well as its comparison with the version available in the Biblioteca Nacional of Buenos Aires. Sr. Torre Revello finds that the Biblioteca Nacional copy is incomplete. The copy under examination, which is owned by Agustín P. Justo, former president of Argentina, comprises fourteen chapters while the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional ends with chapter thirteen. Moreover, the Justo copy contains maps and plans which are entirely lacking in the known manuscript. Sr. Torre Revello reproduces the missing chapter in its entirety and gives also photostat copies of the maps found in the Justo copy.

Comparing the Justo document with the version published by

Pablo Groussac, Sr. Torre Revello finds that Groussac took liberties with the text in violation of the very principles he advocated. So, for example, Groussac omitted Chapter 9 altogether, and he failed to reproduce numerous documents inserted in other chapters.

Two indices close the volume. One is an index of personal names, alphabetically arranged; the other is a list of tables and photostats reproduced in the text.

MIRON BURGIN.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Latin America and the Enlightenment. Essays by Arthur P. Whitaker, Roland D. Hussey, Harry Bernstein, John Tate Lanning, Arthur Scott Aiton, and Alexander D. Marchant. Introduction by Federico de Onís. Edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. Pp. xiii, 130, \$1.25.)

Of the six interesting and informative essays which form this volume, the first four were presented at the 1940 meeting of the American Historical Association in a discussion of "Latin America and the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment," the last two "being added to give a better rounded treatment to the subject."

They discuss in a scholarly and illuminating manner the reaction in Latin America, with necessary reference to the Spanish background, to the "modern progressive system of thought" developed largely in England, France and Germany during the eighteenth century which entailed the rejection of the Peripatetic philosophy, with the philosophical abstractions of scholasticism, and the acceptance of experimental investigation and the "trustworthiness of the senses" as essential to the advancement of human knowledge.

The authors have based their study and conclusions on primary sources including the lives and activities of scholars, the history of schools and societies, contemporary publications and theses, inventories of libraries and the history of Freemasonry, each lecture being supported by bibliographical references to sources.

One of the most interesting of these contributions, at least to the present reviewer, is Harry Bernstein's "Some Inter-American Aspects of the Enlightenment."

Together, they form a thoroughly integrated, definite and rather conclusive study of the subject, affording the student an unbiased evaluation of the *leyenda negra*, so popularized by Raynal, and show-

ing lucidly and convincingly the measures taken by Spain to promote the transmission of culture to its American colonies.

In view of the fact, so well expressed by Dr. Onís, that "in the Hispanic world, in both America and Europe, the struggle between the forces of tradition and the new ideas has been more violent, more complex, and more difficult of solution than anywhere else" it will surprise many readers to learn that there were so many opportunities open to Latin-American intellectuals for becoming acquainted with the scientific, philosophical and political ideologies of the Enlightenment.

In conclusion, the editor's modest statement may well be quoted: "These essays make some contributions to knowledge, but their main function is one of interpretation of generally familiar facts and their main purpose is to stimulate further discussion by focusing attention on those aspects of their common theme that seem to have a special interest for the present generation of scholars."

Contents: The dual rôle of Latin America in the Enlightenment, by A. P. Whitaker; Traces of French Enlightenment in Colonial Hispanic America, by R. D. Hussey; Some inter-American aspects of the Enlightenment, by H. Bernstein; The reception of the Enlightenment in Latin America, by J. T. Lanning; Aspects of the Enlightenment in Brazil, by A. Marchant; The Spanish government and the Enlightenment in America, by A. S. Aiton.

C. K. Jones.

Library of Congress.

The Haitian People. By James G. Leyburn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. x, 342. Critical bibliography and index. \$4.00.)

It is remarkable that Haiti, long the exclusive domain of journalists and romancers, has lately been the subject of several works of historical scholarship. These books, however, have been devoted to Haitian relations with the United States and in general they have exhibited a tendency to concentrate upon the acts of diplomats, without contributing much to an understanding of basic problems. The present work, latest in the series, is the first scholarly account of the origins and development of Haiti's unique social institutions. As such it is a study of absorbing interest for its own sake and one indispensable to an understanding of Haitian history in any of its aspects.

The author considers it a matter of indifference whether his work is classified as sociology or as social history. To understand a people

requires not only a description of their characteristic institutions but also a knowledge of how they came to be what they are. His purpose is, therefore, to present a connected story of the growth of distinctly Haitian institutions out of the backgrounds of slavery and of French colonial life, and of their development through a century and a half of freedom, independence, and virtual isolation.

It is a fascinating story, skillfully told, so that this scholarly account is of more compelling interest than the many journalistic embroideries on the theme.

It should be remembered that the Haitian people began their national existence with as close an approximation of a tabula rasa as modern times have known. A majority of them were of African birth, yet of such diverse tribes and tongues that no general pattern of behavior could be derived from that source. The French régime survived only in a small minority of mixed blood, in language, and in the memory of forms recently overthrown.

Haitians of the first generation enjoyed not only a sense of unique achievement, but anticipation of high destiny as well. Three former slaves, Louverture, Dessalines, and Christophe, in turn essayed to mold the nation in definite and efficient form. They failed, however, and in the end human nature was allowed to take its own course. As a result the social institutions of Haiti are unplanned and peculiar; neither African nor French, but sui generis.

The author treats topically of the caste system, religion, sex and home life, and politics and economics. In each case he describes the colonial background, the alternatives offered in the early years of independence, and the gradual emergence of modern forms during the nineteenth century. Finally he discusses the resulting problems of modern Haiti.

The basic social phenomenon is the existence of two groups, the élite and the masses, so effectively separated that caste is the only word descriptive of the situation. All other social peculiarities are factors in this divergence, which is deeper than mere difference of means and living standards. The masses are for the most part peasants who work hard to wring an existence from barren soil. They are full-blooded Negroes, ignorant of French, practicing Vodun, and informal in their marital relationships. The élite are distinguished by such marks as the avoidance of manual labor, the use of French in public, denial of Vodun, legal marriage, and, generally, by light complexion. The persistence of a social distinction based on color is a striking Haitian paradox.

The discussion of "Voodoo" (properly Vodun) clarifies a subject

which has been the basis of unwarranted sensationalism. This most African of Haitian phenomena did not attain developed form and general acceptance until after 1850. It is genuine religious belief and practice consoling to millions of souls who are conscious of no incongruity in considering themselves good Catholics.

In his critical bibliography the author demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the written sources pertinent to his study, but his is not merely a work of archival research. He derives equal authority from an intimate acquaintance with Haiti, its élite, and its common people.

All students of Haitian affairs are indebted to Professor Leyburn for clear portrayal of fundamental social conditions which otherwise may be perceived only darkly in many scattered references.

LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff.

Central America. Challenge and Opportunity. By Charles Morrow Wilson. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941. Pp. x, 293. \$3.00.)

In this book Charles Morrow Wilson calls attention to the opportunities in a wise, constructive policy toward the Caribbean area. Words, he believes, will never hold together the nations of our half of the world. Trade can. Central American wealth rises from a fertile earth: in that earth as well rests the secret for lasting coöperation and increasing good-fellowship. With such admirable intent, it is unfortunate that the book is so astoundingly inaccurate.

Though his book title reads Central America, Mr. Wilson accepts no such limitation. The very first sentence states—"Middle America, roughly coincident with Central America, is the term I shall use for the family of contemporary nations which wait between the thresholds of South America and those of the United States." This Middle America includes not only Central America but also "the islands of the Caribbean and the Lesser Antilles, the Bahamas, and several hundred other tropical or subtropical islands of varying degrees of importance or unimportance." Despite its location between the United States and South America, Mexico will be omitted for the reasons that the author does not know Mexico "commendably well" and that "books about Mexico have been falling from the presses like hailstones on an Arkansas strawberry patch." Colombia, on the other hand, is included, as it is believed to be "one in blood and fundamental economy with the nations of Central America." To be sure, Mr. Wilson admits that he is not too well acquainted with Colombia

either, but then—"Extremely few aliens are broadly acquainted with Colombia, and comparatively few Colombians are acquainted with the whole of their own country" (p. 70). As for Nicaragua—"I wish I knew Nicaragua better. Except for port calls, plane-flight visits to Managua, the capital, and a few brief junkets among lowland fincas, my acquaintance with the land is regrettably limited."

Of the many examples of similar geographical nonchalance in this book, possibly the most astounding, however, are the apparent listing of Ecuador in Middle America—when the author notes that "the United Fruit Company . . . operates . . . farm properties in Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, and other areas of Middle America"—and the mention of "the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica, from Limón north toward Almirante, Panama," with its seeming indication of the author's unawareness of even the relative locations of two of his admittedly Central American countries!

Mr. Wilson's attitude toward historical accuracy is equally indifferent. From the statement of a belief that Columbus reported the isthmus country to be "the geographical control board of the Western hemisphere," to the statement that Hernán Cortés made "a renowned journey of conquest" to Honduras in 1593 (despite his earlier death) and an equally strange note of pirate Morgan's apparently posthumous destruction of Panama City in 1771, history, like geography, seems to serve a largely decorative purpose in this book.

Part two of the book deals with the agriculture of Middle America, with chapters on coffee, bananas, old coco, chocolate, chicle, rubber, and experimental crops. Grave doubts of its accuracy arise when one encounters repeated mention of a quebracho pine as source for the tannin discussed among the experimental crops and such positive assertions as the statement that the white potato originated in Middle America. Mr. Wilson also admits that he is "no authority" on coffee.

Finally, there is the matter of the Spanish language, brief phrases of which are used in profuse adornment of the volume. When one reads a book on Spanish-speaking countries and finds it consistently inaccurate in such simple matters as direct quotation of Spanish names, there must necessarily arise doubt of the author's ability to have gathered his impressions from other than non-native sources. The author admits that his Spanish is bad, though it had been a source of "admiration" to Cuban natives. Quite possibly he forgets that the Spanish admirar often implies amazement as well as admira-

¹ For further documentation, see Richard F. Behrendt's excellent review in *The Inter-American Quarterly* (October, 1941), pp. 132-135.

tion, and the first of these meanings seems the more appropriate after reading such expressions as "transportes aereos costaricansa" or of "Cuba's great hero, Antonia Mareo" (Antonio Maceo), or of "Real Miñas" (defined as Royal Mines)!

But it is much easier to note errors than to write a readable book. Unfortunately, this particular book is typical of much fluent and hastily misinformed writing about a Latin America newly discovered by the U. S. book-buying public. In so far as its emphasis upon American agriculture as a bond between the Americas is sound and its appraisal of Latin American countries is sympathetic, it may possibly do no harm; it may even induce the reading of other, and more dependable, books about Latin America. But let it not be accepted as any authoritative source for information about our American neighbors.

The book is beautifully illustrated by over 50 photographs taken by Iris Woolcock—photographs so superb that they in themselves are worth the price of the volume.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Face of South America: An Aerial Traverse. By John L. Rich. (New York: American Geographical Society, 1942. Pp. xvii, 301; 325 half-tones, 8 maps. \$4.00.)

The most comprehensive scientific picture book of South America. The pictures are those of an air trip on a circuit including seven of the ten countries of the continent. The views form a nearly complete series depicting the variety of landscape along the route, and the text provides a background and interprets each view.

There is no finer example of skillful and consistent application through a whole volume of an air reconnaissance method devised and tested in the last decade by geographers. The work is exemplary also in its scientific honesty, in specifying what is seen and known, and admitting what is unseen and unknown. Every observation is precisely located, following a practice which could be copied advantageously by all travel writers and photographers to assure placement of their contributions in the field of knowledge.

As a geologist the author brings to his work the best kind of background for seeing and interpreting the phenomena which are best observed from the air. These include physiographic phenomena extending over a few square miles of the earth's surface—forms of erosion and deposition by water, wind, and ice, of faulting and folding,

of coastal submergence and emergence. Not only are such phenomena well seen from the air and understood by the author, but they are similar in different continents and can be interpreted in South America from experience in North America.

The book is interesting for what is excluded as well as for what is included. The limitations of the method in general and in particular are clearly visible and worth knowing. The work is "comprehensive" only within its special field. Naturally there are phenomena not well seen from the air and not within the author's field. These include some phenomena on a larger scale than those seen from the air and others on a smaller scale: great regions covering thousands of square miles, for example, on a larger scale; and the immediate facts of human occupance within a few rods, on a smaller scale.

The book is properly entitled "The Face of South America." But it is a face as seen by a fly buzzing over the surface, seeing moles and hairs, but not seeing either the facial expression on a larger scale or the microscopic living cells on a smaller scale. The Amazon basin is not seen by flying over the mouth of the river nor the Argentine nation by flying across the Pampas. The characteristics and problems of a cacao plantation are not seen in a glance from the sky, nor are the living conditions of an Indian forest settlement, nor the nature of the tropical forest itself, particularly if these are not familiar to the observer at close range on the ground.

In some places the author is tempted by interesting signs of human occupance to offer explanations based on old environmental theories of human activity and on North American experience. Luckily such temptations are few; for the most part the pictures call for interpretations in a field where the author is a master, and the accompanying text meets the challenge in a masterly way.

ROBERT S. PLATT.

University of Chicago.

Catálogo de los fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indias. Tomo II, Expedientes Diarios, 1642-1799. [Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano Cubano de Historia de América (Fundación Rafael G. Abreu).] (Sevilla: Talleres tipográficos de la Gavidia, 1935. Pp. xii, 525. Paper.)

This is the second in the series of indexes of materials in the Archivo General de Indias relating to Cuba which has been published by the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. It carries forward that part of the program outlined for the founder Rafael G. Abreu, which seeks to make those materials more available. The vol-

ume is a reproduction of the major portion of a manuscript volume (Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 1347) entitled "Imbentario de los Expedientes diarios del Negociado de la Ysla de Cuba y Ciudad de Sn. Christoval de la Habana, que existen en el Archibo de esta Secretaría del Consejo y Cámara de Indias de la Negociación de la Nueva España. Comprehensivo Desde el año de 1642 hasta el de 1781." In reality the volume covers the years down to 1799 inclusive. The part indicated in the title proper was prepared in 1784 by Dn. Lorenzo Tomás Simonel, archivist of the indicated Secretariat and covers folios 1 to 248 of the manuscript. The entries, either by Simonel or his successors, for the years 1781 to 1799 follow on folios 248 to 356. Each entry gives an extract or résumé of the expediente. including particularly the names of the persons involved. The entries in the manuscript are arranged by years and numbered consecutively under each year with a special group of expedientes particulares at the end covering the years 1760 to 1799 which are numbered in one garies

Investigation in the archive revealed the location of practically all the expedientes listed. The expedientes diarios, which are numbered from 1 to 2361, are in legajos 414-432, 519-522 and 1455-1498 of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. The expedientes particulares, Nos. 2362-2421, comprise 57 identified expedientes forming 78 legajos. These legajos bear numbers between 1162 and 2275 of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Unlocated expedientes are indicated and the number of the legajo containing each document is given.

The documents relate to all kinds of matters, both civil and ecclesiastical with the former predominating, which were brought to the attention of the Council. There are relatively few entries before 1700 and those of the last quarter of the eighteenth century comprise nearly one fourth of the total. Thus the index makes available a vast amount of information about colonial life in Cuba and Habana during the eighteenth century.

The work of preparing the manuscript for publication was performed by José María de la Peña y de la Cámara, a member of the staff of the Archivo de Indias and professor of the University of Sevilla. The introduction is by Dr. José María Ots. There are indexes of names of persons and places and of subjects, which serve to facilitate the use of the volume and to indicate something of the wide scope of the content. An appendix contains lists of the governors of Habana and Santiago de Cuba as well as the bishops and archbishops of Santiago and the bishop of Habana. Although the distribution of this excellently presented volume was much delayed

because of conditions in Spain, it is none the less welcome and is a worthy contribution to the knowledge about some of the records in the Archive of the Indies.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Washington, D. C.

Historia de la literatura americana y argentina. Con antología. By FERMÍN ESTRELLA GUTIÉRREZ and EMILIO SUÁREZ CALIMANO. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Kapelusz y Cía., n. d. 2 ed. Pp. 575. Cloth, \$7.00.)

A school text, written by a well-known Argentine poet and by one of the outstanding literary critics of Spanish America.

The book is divided into six main sections: a general introductory chapter, with miscellaneous information about geography, Indian literature, and the general divisions in Spanish American literary history; a first chapter on colonial literature, divided into sections on colonial literature in general and colonial literature in Argentina; chapters two through seven, on Argentine literature (pp. 70-388); chapters eight and nine, on Spanish-American literature outside of Argentina (pp. 389-530); a general didactic chapter on literary composition; and such technical equipment as bibliography, index of authors cited, general index, and a concluding note with indication of the specific parts of the book for which each author assumes responsibility. Chapters one through nine are followed by illustrative and well-selected quotations from the works of the authors considered in each chapter.

Despite the fact that this basic pattern as a whole is acceptable, organization is confused in the two main sections which deal with Argentine literature and with the literature of other countries (i.e., chapters two to seven, and eight and nine). Normally, the literary history of Spanish America is told either from the point of view of time (colonial, independence, revolutionary, republican periods), or genre (novel, poetry, etc.), or literary movement (classicism, romanticism, realism, modernism). This book attempts all types of approach. For example: in the section on Argentine literature, chapter two, titled to indicate a study of the literature of the revolutionary and independence periods, is divided into general consideration of the literature of the time and a specific study of romantic poetry. Chapter three continues a study of romantic poetry under the guise of gaucho poetry. Chapters four and five go back to the time approach with study of leading figures of nineteenth-century literature, regardless of literary genre; chapter six represents the genre approach with

summaries of the novel, short story, and theater; chapter seven returns to a time approach with a study of contemporary Argentine literature. The result of this constant swirl in point of view is repetition and lack of clarity.

The two chapters dealing with the other literatures of Spanish America cover literature during the revolutionary and independence periods and then skip to literature since 1885. Here the time approach is consistently kept, with one chapter covering neo-classicism and romanticism in the period involved, and the other chapter, modernism. One looks in vain for any specific section on realism, however, and the inclusion in the revolutionary and independence period of such writers as Manuel González Prada, Justo Sierra, Rafael Pombo, etc., comes as a distinct shock. Also, among the curious omissions noted in this section, are the names of two of Spanish America's best writers—José Milla and José de Batres y Montúfar.

An even more important omission is to be found in the general treatment of contemporary literature. The authors have deliberately limited their study to a consideration of the works of dead authors. While this may save them from the susceptibilities of possibly combative contemporaries and their friends, it is impossible to give any adequate portrayal of the contemporary scene with the omission of its contemporary actors. For—to mention only a few illustrative examples—how can you describe contemporary Chilean literature without Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Mistral; or Mexican literature without José Rubén Romero; or Guatemalan literature, without Rafael Arévalo Martínez?

But there are many good features in this book. Best of all, the authors give relief and depth to their literary history; in that, their work is distinctive. There have been too many literary histories where tenth-rate writers achieve a totally undeserved prominence. Here at last is a history where a conscientious attempt is made, and on the whole successfully made, to limit the story to really notable writers and to define the relative importance both of the writers named and of their works. Also the little anthologies of illustrative material given at the end of the several chapters are extremely useful. A third excellent feature is the inclusion of numerous photographs of the authors treated. It is to be hoped that the authors will edit a third edition, which will clear away organizational unclarity and give us the exceedingly useful book which is so badly needed.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Apuntes para la historia del teatro en Chile. La Zarzuela Grande. By Manuel Abascal Brunet. (Santiago de Chile: Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía, 1941. Pp. 227. \$20 pesos chilenos.)

Recent research clearly reveals that the inhabitants of Spanish America, even in colonial days, shared enjoyment of the creative works of Spain's artists with the people of the homeland. Even the time-lag was scarcely more than what was required to cross the Atlantic ocean, and the latest novelties of Madrid were soon known where Spanish was spoken in the New World. This statement was especially true with respect to the theater for which the Spanish race has long had a fondness amounting to a passion. Almost as soon as the theater became a popular institution in Spain corrales de comedias were established in the overseas colonies and strolling Spanish players performed the latest comedies of Lope de Vega, Montalbán, Calderón de la Barca, and their successors. Political independence from Spain produced no real separation in this respect for, as the work under review plainly shows, Spanish drama and Spanish stock companies continued in high favor even in remote Chile throughout the nineteenth century.

Contemporary newspapers and periodicals have proved to be one of the richest sources of historical evidence concerning local theaters in Spanish America. Sporadic colonial chronicles often describe the performance of plays as a part of a larger program of festivities, while anuncios in the periodicals which began to appear in the latter part of the eighteenth century often give the titles of plays performed and some details of this popular diversion. In the nineteenth century the record is much more detailed as newspapers multiply and maintain a more continuous existence. From such sources the author has taken his apuntes on the zarzuela grande, or musical comedy, which enjoyed such immense popularity in the middle and last half of the past century.

Spanish genius was not quite equal to the task of creating a national opera on the Italian model but under this inspiration it brought forth a veritable flood of operettas or light musical comedies of one and more acts. These spontaneous, gay, witty and tuneful productions were an authentic manifestation of popular and national art, and enjoyed an almost instant vogue in Spain and in its former colonies in America which lasted almost to the present time. In his second chapter the author promises to chronicle the performances of the various stock companies which he lists, from the earliest beginnings of this dramatic género in the middle of the nineteenth century

to the season of the "Compañía Luis Calvo" in Chile in 1938. His apuntes, however, carry us only through the two seasons in Valparaíso and Santiago of the "Compañía Villalonga" in 1871. There he leaves us abruptly with a vague promise to continue these notes at a later date. But the record is sufficiently long to give the reader a clear impression of the faithfulness with which the Spanish theater, particularly this manifestation of it, was reflected in independent Chile. The running commentary drawn from the newspapers of the period gives much information on the popularity of many zarzuelas. the varying successes of the stock companies, and the reception, usually cordial, which Chilean audiences accorded their performances. From this mass of data, gossip, and chit-chat the reader will draw out much of interest. He may experience, perhaps, a certain nostalgia for those days before the tempo of life had accelerated to its present frenzy, and may wish that he had participated, for example, in the enthusiastic ovation given to an artist of the Villalonga company, Sra. Matilde Montañés when, as an entreacto in 1871, she introduced Iradier's recent song-hit, La Paloma, to the Chilean public and sent it home humming this long-standing favorite. Or the reader may be amused when he learns that the more moral Spanish zarzuela brought back to the local playhouses those dear, good ladies whose delicate sensibilities had been shocked by the indelicacies of the risqué French operettas recently performed, and particularly by the naughty cancan dance thus introduced to the unsophisticated society of Valparaiso and Santiago.

A chronological listing of the titles and the dates of the first performances of *zarzuelas* in Chile and an index of names of plays and players increases the reference value of this useful compilation of notes.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of Michigan.

BOOK NOTICES

Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States, 1811-1824. Reprinted from The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1939. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. (Worcester, Mass.: The Davis Press, 1940. Pp. 93. Paper. \$1.00.)

At least a dozen historians of the United States and Argentina have written, directly or incidentally, of early diplomatic exchanges between Washington and Buenos Aires. Of these, Professor Bemis was the first to make full use of official archival materials in both countries. But he has done even more. He has tapped several private collections of hitherto unused papers in this country, notably the journal and letterbooks of David C. DeForest, American adventurer in Argentina, who returned to his homeland as Argentine Consul General. From these new materials, therefore, comes a more complete story, one revealing the interplay of our shifting attitudes toward Latin America and the broader policies on neutrality, recognition, privateering, and territorial expansion.

Between Argentina's May "revolution" (1810) and the arrival of Carlos María de Alvear as first minister (1824), six separate missions reached Washington. All came to secure arms, ships, aid of whatever sort. Most brought blank privateering commissions, manna for Clay and the new nationalists, and vexations for Madison, Monroe, and Adams. Only two specifically solicited recognition. But temporary non-recognition was only a matter of expediency, and neutrality was continuously benevolent. To Argentine independence, as to the independence of all Latin America, concludes Professor Bemis, "the United States contributed far more than the force of its example," far more even than Great Britain. It contributed adventurers to man privateers, unhindered export of munitions, free use of ports, recognition of belligerency, and, ultimately, recognition of independence and Monroe's "proclamation of faith in republicanism in the New World."

HAROLD F. PETERSON.

Proceso histórico de la Enmienda Platt (1897-1934). By M. MÁRQUEZ STERLING. Prólogo de René Lufriu. (Habana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1941. Pp. xxxv, 462. Illus.)

Shortly after the abrogation of the Permanent Treaty in 1934, the then Cuban ambassador to Washington, M. Márquez Sterling, died. He left a manuscript history of the Platt Amendment completed only so far as the Taft mission in 1906. The book under review now publishes the 345 pages of the draft manuscript, together with some chapters in partial continuation, by Dr. Carlos Márquez Sterling.

The history as planned was evidently to be on a grand scale. What we have is chiefly a detailed version of the proceedings of Congress. the Cuban constitutional convention and their committees in relation to the Amendment. It is of interest less for the presentation of new historical data than for the way they are presented. The reader becomes absorbed in the manner in which a subtle and self-critical mind sees events in which it has functioned both as observer and actor. The late ambassador during his varied journalistic and diplomatic career had distinguished himself from its outset by vigorous criticism of the Permanent Treaty. It is the treaty itself that is the enemy in this account. Although the speech reactions and supposed underlying motives of a large number of personalities, both Cuban and American, make up the story, and Márquez Sterling did not spare his own countrymen from critical appraisal, he viewed all men without passion. We see McKinley, for instance, as he appeared to the Cuban delegates in 1901, but also as he has appeared to others. Márquez Sterling had no easy solutions for the mysteries of personality nor for the riddle of the historical process.

The additional chapters are interesting chiefly for their version, based upon the ambassador's papers, of conversations in Washington, preceding the abrogation of the Permanent Treaty, and in Havana, during the transit of power from the Grau San Martín government to that of Mendieta.

LELAND H. JENKS.

Wellesley College.

Lotin America in World Affairs, 1914-1940. Essays by L. S. Rowe, Clarence H. Haring, Stephen Duggan, Dana G. Munro. [University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. viii, 34. \$0.50.)

This small pamphlet contains a foreword by Dr. Rowe and three essays or speeches: "Latin America Comes of Age" (Haring), "Cul-

tural Relations with Latin America'' (Duggan), "Economic Nationalism in Latin America'' (Munro). The contents and styles are of the high quality to be expected from such scholars. The essays themselves contain nothing new or startling, although they do present relevant material quite adequately. The little volume is well worth reading.

E. T. PARKS.

Berea College.

Discursos pronunciados en su carácter de Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores (1936-1940). By Eduardo Hay. (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1940. Pp. 91.)

Before becoming foreign minister of Mexico under President Cárdenas in 1936 (to remain in that post until 1940), Eduardo Hay, after joining the Revolution in 1910 as a Maderista, had spent almost his entire life in the government service of Mexico in various capacities. His speeches therefore should be considered by the historian as a documentary source in determining not only the foreign policies of the Cárdenas administration but also in reflecting the trend of the Revolution by the 1930's, a trend to more liberal and even more leftist ideology. The speeches praise the new Pan-Americanism, the policy of the good neighbor, and the cooperation of the American nations in reëstablishing peace in the world. They condemn Fascism, the bombardment of open cities, and the rôle of the Axis in the Spanish Civil War. His basic philosophy on international affairs is best expressed perhaps in his speech made on Columbus Day, 1940, in which he sets forth the hope that the Fiesta de la Raza may some day become the Fiesta de la Humanidad.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

A History of American Foreign Policy. Second revision. By John Holladay Latané, late Professor of American History, the Johns Hopkins University, and David W. Wainhouse, New York University. (New York: Oddyssey Press, 1940. Pp. 1037. \$4.50.)

This is a second revision, brought out by a different publisher, of this well-known text, to bring it from 1934 up to the outbreak of the European War in 1939. The late Professor Latané, who wrote the original work, was not able to carry it beyond the Washington Conference of 1922. The distinction of Professor Latané's writing was a simplicity of exposition and lucidity of style; his limitations were

an almost exclusive reliance on works in the English language. Mr. Wainhouse's addenda are easily discernible as coming from a different hand and mind. The rapid march of events since September, 1939, has made this second revision already out of date.

Bolivia en el Concierto del Plata. By FEDERICO ÁVILA. (Mexico: Editorial Cultura, 1941. Pp. 341.)

Federico Ávila, Bolivian writer on history, sociology, politics, international relations, and education presents in this volume a synthesis of his own thinking with respect to Bolivia. He draws his ideas from a very close study of the past mistakes of Bolivian diplomacy, but chiefly from his excellent account of the La Plata regional conference of 1941. This account, in sum, is the chief value of the volume

As a solution of Bolivia's problems he suggests some plans which merit serious attention although his bias toward his own country must be kept in mind. His ideas and facts are not new—are even fairly well known.

In the rather lengthy five chapters of the Concierto del Plata, Avila attempts to show that Bolivia occupies a central and key position in South America. Without minimizing Bolivia's independent status, the writer suggests that his country has an obligation to serve as a solidifying agent for the continent. Unity, in his opinion, transcends politics or national boundaries and consists chiefly in cultural, economic, geographic, and social hegemony. In these fields he concedes the leadership which naturally falls to other nations.

His primary interest is in a concierto of all nations drained by the La Plata. The vast eastern part of Bolivia fits into this region and Bolivia should take its full part in regional action undertaken. He further suggests that the remainder of South America be grouped into two more comparable conciertos; one consisting of the Pacific littoral into which Bolivia figures again as a central solidifying agent; and another Amazonian concierto. Expanding the idea to North America, he suggests a regional conference to include Canada, the United States, and Mexico as well as a Central American conference which would include the island nations. He further suggests a superconference of regional groups constituting a Pan-American confederation which would strive to lower tariffs and encourage economic coöperation.

He insists that his ideas are not directed against either Pan-Americanism or the League of Nations. Although the reviewer does not

always agree with Avila's arguments, nevertheless they are worthy of serious consideration and thought.

A. P. NASATIR.

San Diego State College.

Alma de América. By Ramón F. Vásquez. [Carta-prólogo de Ricardo Rojas.] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1941. Pp. 218. Paper. \$2.50 m/arg.)

Protagonists in a virgin scene, which tempts and impels to action; endowed with a spirit antagonistic to egotism and prejudice; animated by an extraordinary vitality based on noble leaven and augmented by repeated amalgams and fusions; beneficiaries of material resources prodigally spread in the very fruitful continent; and motivated by an innate inclination to beauty and liberty as if nature had proposed to impede discord in the harmony of the whole, the Latin Americans appear to be called to fulfill an original and prolific mission in the evolutionary human process.

Thus it is that Ramón F. Vásquez begins his essay on the democratic basis of Latin-American life. In the book he draws a distinction between what he terms the economic or material background of American life and the more spiritual values which he finds in Latin America. He gives much attention to the native Indian factors that have entered into the life of that region. He sketches briefly the course of development of the several republics which he groups into three classes; viz., those having a population with an indigenous base, those with a distinctive population and those which are predominantly European in character. He points out the high lights in the progress of the states, mentioning many individuals who have contributed to the building of their society. The opinion is expressed that the future of Latin America lies in the development of its own life, placing emphasis on the factors which derive from the American continent. The essence of the new age in Latin America should be solidarity built on the elements which have been portrayed. The effective instruments of this development are education and the press which are treated in separate sections. The small volume is an interesting and readable presentation of the viewpoint of the author.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Washington, D. C.

America in the New Pacific. By George E. Taylor. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. 160. \$1.75.)

The purpose of Mr. Taylor in this brief account of "America in the New Pacific" is to clarify both the present war situation and to provide a background for constructive thinking upon the future development of our Far Eastern policy. Amid the flood of topical books on the Pacific which have appeared in recent months, it stands out preëminently. It is particularly characterized by its historical perspective, its understanding and sympathy for the peoples of Asia, not excluding the Japanese, and its breadth of view. The author's emphasis upon the revolutionary changes now under way throughout the Far East further serves to make his book a signal contribution to present-day literature upon the Pacific.

After an introductory chapter upon the present struggle between Japan and the United States, Mr. Taylor examines both the form and nature of American expansion in the Pacific, attempting to discover what it has meant to the people of the United States and to those of Asia. This study is followed by an equally penetrating analysis of the forces of Japanese imperialism and of the character of the Japanese Monopoly State. The bases for conflict and the progressive deterioration of American-Japanese relations before the actual outbreak of war are discussed with keen insight. The impact of these developments upon the other peoples of Asia is next taken up with an unusually good chapter upon China as an ally of the United States, and the book ends with a provocative conclusion—"Asia for Whom?"

Mr. Taylor's interpretation of present-day events and of possible future developments is based upon the thesis that there can be no return to the prewar Pacific. Western imperialism as it has been known in the past cannot be revived. Our interest is primarily peace. And peace must be based upon the destruction of Japanese militarism and upon political independence for all those people of Asia who are capable of achieving it. Settlement of the political problems of the Far East, the author believes, will be "comparatively simple," but its maintenance will depend upon solution of the far more difficult problem of economic readjustment. Our future course is to provide leadership in the liberation and modernization of Asia. Here is the vital challenge to postwar America, and upon our willingness to accept it and to meet it effectively may well depend not only the welfare of Asia but the security of democratic institutions in the United States.

From a more critical viewpoint the organization of material and treatment of historical developments are sometimes confusing. The author's style is not very graceful and occasionally lacks clarity. It is also possible to quarrel with certain of his generalizations and rather dogmatic historical interpretations. But "America in the New Pacific" is never dull or tedious, and its brevity does not allow full

amplification of the many points which the author seeks to make. Its incisiveness, indeed, gives it a vitality that greatly contributes to its very real value.

FOSTER RHEA DULLES.

Ohio State University.

Antecedentes de la Asociación de Mayo, 1837-1937; homenaje del Hon. Concejo Deliberante de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires en el centenario de su fundación. (Buenos Aires: La Comisión Honoraria de Bibliotecas Públicas Municipales, 1939. Pp. 335.)

The Asociación de Mayo occupies a distinguished place in the evolution of Argentine political thought. It was formed in 1837 by thirty-odd youths, who, stimulated by Esteban Echeverría, joined to perpetuate the ideals of the Revolution of May (1810). They drafted the Dogma Socialista, a manifesto of their political formula: Mayo, Progreso, Democracia. Their ideas formed an essential link between the writings of Bernardo Monteagudo and Mariano Moreno and the Constitution of 1853. It was truly a youth movement, initiated by those men who were to dominate Argentine political and literary life for the next half century: Echeverría was thirty-two; Juan María Gutiérrez, twenty-eight: Juan Bautista Alberdi, twenty-seven: Domingo F. Sarmiento, twenty-six; Vicente Fidel López, twenty-two; José Mármol and Carlos Tejedor, nineteen; Bartolomé Mitre, sixteen. Soon driven underground by the pressure of Rosas, the youths were forced to work in exile, some abroad, others in remote provinces. The present volume is a centennial collection of documents relating to the Asociación, including the Dogma Socialista. There are facsimiles of several of the documents and photographs of most of the men.

HAROLD F. PETERSON.

Washington, D. C.

El federalismo de Artigas y la independencia nacional. By Pablo Blanco Acevedo. (Montevideo: Impresora Uruguaya, S. A., 1939. Pp. 234.)

This volume along with another by the same author (El Gobierno en el Uruguay y los origines de la nacionalidad; 2d ed., 1936) constitute an important study of the political history of what is now Uruguay down to the final expulsion of the Portuguese.

The author's purpose in the book here reviewed is to carry to completion the task, begun in *El Gobierno Colonial*, of explaining the origins, causes, and nature of Uruguayan nationality. In *El federa*-

lismo de Artigas, the author explains in a very masterful manner how Uruguayan nationality came to fruition in Uruguay's separate national existence as a result of Artigas' struggles with Buenos Aires and Brazil.

The book is unusually well documented with historical source material that is frequently ignored or unknown to other writers on this important period of Uruguay's history.

W. M. G.

Duke University.

La gesta emancipadora del Perú, 1821-22. By J. M. Valega. (Lima: La Universidad de San Marcos, 1941. Vol. III. Pp. viii, 272. \$2.00. Paper.)

Volumes I, II, and IV of Valega's work have already been reviewed (see this *Review*, XXI, 619, and XXII, 405.) The first part of volume three deals with San Martín as the liberator of Perú, the second is devoted to the adventures of Lord Cochrane and his controversy with San Martín, and the third is composed of summaries of numerous historical versions of the celebrated meeting between San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil. To all these versions, Valega adds his own in the form of a question, admitting that this controversial episode needs further investigation which he intends to continue with a study of Bolívar.

This volume, like the others in this work, lacks narrative unity. Its chief value lies in the development of numerous little incidents and episodes, and in the generous use of primary documents in the body as well as in the footnotes.

JOHN RYDJORD.

University of Wichita.

Don José Besa Infante y su obra. By Armando Torres Cuevas. (Santiago de Chile: El Imparcial, 1941. Pp. 100.)

Don José Besa Infante (1812-1904), deputy, senator, and a leading figure of the Montt-Varistas, was one of the most successful Chilean merchants of the last century. His firm, Casa Besa, which united lucrative trades in southern produce and northern nitrates, is the principal theme of this book. A sketch of the life of Don José is followed by more detailed accounts of the foundation of the Casa Besa, its activities during the Montt administration, and its expansion during the 1860's and 1870's. A final chapter relates the changes in the composition of the firm down to 1941. The narrative is not

always well unified. For material the author has drawn chiefly upon the twenty-one manuscript volumes of *Correspondencia Besa* in the Archivo Nacional at Santiago, but his present work serves to indicate their richness rather than to exploit them fully. Students of California history will be especially interested in the account on pp. 30-35 of the attempt of Casa Besa to found a San Francisco branch in 1850.

WOODROW BORAH.

Princeton, N. J.

Historia de la conquista y población de la provincia de Venezuela. By José Oviedo y Baños. Edited by Paul Adams. [Facsimile reproduction of the edition made in Caracas in 1824 by Domingo Navas Spínola.] (New York: Privately printed, 1940. Pp. xxxi, XXII, 667.)

Born in Bogotá, José Oviedo y Baños spent most of his life in Venezuela and became its first impartial, critical historian.

The paragraph relative to the exact day on which Diego de Losada founded Caracas is a good illustration of his technique. It explains why the date is unknown: the minutes of the cabildo are missing; a diligent search reveals no documentary evidence; the word of the one man who gave the day is not to be trusted since he errs in the year when the event took place.

The material given is restricted to the province of Venezuela. Thirteen lines are devoted to Columbus. The explorations of Ojeda, Alfinger, Bascona, San Martín, Spira, Federmann, Belalcázar, Navas, and Utre are pictured in detail. An unemotional account of the tyrant Lope de Aguirre is given. The founding of the various cities, and what happened in them up to 1600, is portrayed. The romantic fantasies of the original narratives are omitted, and the style is clear and concise. Though first published in Madrid in 1723, this account of the conquest and settlement of Venezuela is still standard.

The second edition of this valuable work was printed in 1824 and was among the first books to be printed in Caracas after the introduction of printing in the early nineteenth century. In itself, it is an interesting item in the cultural history of Venezuela. The type is large and the lines well spaced.

The 1940, or commemorative, edition is a photo-facsimile reproduction of this second edition. Mr. Paul Adams, the editor, and his associates have initiated it as an homage to Venezuela and as a memorial to William Tecumseh Sherman Doyle, one-time chief of the

Latin-American Division of the Department of State and, later, head of the Caribbean Petroleum Company in Caracas.

The introduction gives a brief history of the four other editions hitherto published, as well as biographical data regarding Oviedo y Baños, with illustrations of the chapel of the Caracas cathedral, in which his remains are interred. There is also a comprehensive map of Venezuela showing the exploration routes of the conquistadores. Mr. Rudolph Dolge, dean of the American colony in Caracas, prepared the very full person, place, and subject index.

WILLIAM H. GRAY.

The Pennsylvania State College.

El Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires. By José Torre Revello. [Publicaciones del Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires; Los Archivos Históricos de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, III.] (La Plata: Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1941. Pp. 28. Paper.)

The Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires is not only a depository of documentary material but also one of the most active centers of historical research in Argentina. In the sixteen years since its organization more than a score of publications appeared under the auspices of the Archivo. Its excellent series of monographs on the history of cities and towns of the province (Contribución a la Historia de los pueblos de la provincia de Buenos Aires) provide a solid foundation for continued research and may well serve as a model for similar studies in other provinces of the Republic.

In tracing the history and organization of the Archive, Sr. Torre Revello stays within the relatively narrow confines of factual description. The author refrained from describing the holdings of the Archive, possibly because this has already been done by C. V. Zingoni in his El Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (La Plata, 1928). Nevertheless, it would be interesting to know whether there have been any additions since 1928 and what progress has been made in classifying the material and in making it available to students. Of real value to both historians and bibliographers is the list of publications sponsored by the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires since its organization in 1925.

MIRON BURGIN.

Library of Congress.

Documentos argentinos. Tucumán y la Liga del Norte. Primera parte. Año 1840; prólogo y notas de Manuel Lizondo Borda. [Publicaciones de la Junta Conservadora del Archivo Histórico de Tucumán, Ser. I, Vol. I.] (Tucumán: Imprenta Miguel Violetto, 1939. Pp. 333 [1]. Facsimiles [photostats] 9. Paper.)

The flimsiness of the bond by which Juan Manuel Rosas held together unwilling Argentine provinces in the early years of his dictatorship is revealed by the series of rebellious movements against him. The Association of May, the conspiracy of Maza, the campaigns of Paz and Lavalle, and the Coalition of the North were steps in a continuous, though ineffectual, campaign of liberation. Stirred by the clarion call of Juan Bautista Alberdi and other enemies of the dictator, the province of Tucumán withdrew its recognition of Rosas on April 7, 1840, and undertook the organization of the Coalition of the North. Within a month the provinces of Salta, Jujuy, La Rioja, and Catamarca rallied to the call. A congress met, commanders were chosen, armies were put in the field, and, for more than a year, rebellion flared. Though eventually suppressed by Rosas' ruthless minions, to Tucumanian historians the Coalition of the North has remained "one of the most legitimate, valiant, beautiful, and exciting movements of Argentine history."

The present volume brings together 212 documents relating to the formation and activities of the league in 1840. A second volume is proposed for the subsequent year. Because Tucumán was the "head and soul" of the movement, most of the documents come from the archives of that province and have to do with its contributions. The archives of Salta and Jujuy yielded some documents, those of Catamarca and La Rioja, almost none. The materials have been capably edited and classified, though without interpretation, by Manuel Lizondo Borda, president of La Junta Conservadora del Archivo Histórico de Tucumán and director of its publications. While Sr. Lizondo Borda has not pretended to exhaust his subject, he has assembled valuable materials on a little-known phase of Argentine history.

Washington, D. C.

Historia de la República Argentina en el siglo XIX. By Enrique de Gandía. (Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada y Cía., 1940. Pp. xv, 1018.)

A comprehensive review of this important work should be postponed until the new edition, which is about to be published, appears. Concerning the new edition, the author, who is the director of the Museo Municipal de Arte Colonial in Buenos Aires and president of the Asociación Argentina de Estudios Históricos, has written the reviewer: "En varias partes la lineas han sido cambiadas y la lectura, en vez de interrumpirse bruscamente—lo cual habría evidenciado el error tipográfico—se continúa en forma que parece lógica. . . . La segunda edición se está preparando con más de mil correcciones."

The first edition, however, is a work of genuine historical and literary value. It contains many new things, and in spite of its great detail, is written in a lucid, simple, fluent Spanish, so simple and readable in fact that the book could easily be adopted as a text for classes in Spanish. It contains more illustrations than the average text, the result of Dr. Gandía's favored position in museum work in Argentina.

Each chapter is followed by a review of the main points covered in the chapter, but many of the chapters are in themselves so short as to make the résumés appear almost as long as the chapters themselves. The last three chapters (LVIII to LX) form an unusual appendix for the book. The first of these three chapters is a fairly long review of the presidential administrations in Argentina from Pellegrini to Ortiz (recently deceased). Chapters LIX and LX contain brief accounts of what the author considers "los sucesos más importantes de la Historia de América en los siglos XIX y XX." Among these developments he places the territorial expansion of the United States; the Civil War in the United States; the French intervention in Mexico; the Spanish-American War and the rise of Cuba; the history of the Dominican Republic with a few words on Haiti; the independence of Panama (which for a Latin American he takes most soberly for granted); brief histories of the Pacific nations of South America: the fight of Peru and Chile against Spain in the 1860's (in detail); the War of the Pacific and its results; and a brief history of Brazil in the nineteenth century, ending with the statement "Ahora es, con la Argentina, la nación más poderosa de la América del Sur."

Dr. Gandía should be congratulated on his valuable contribution to the history of Argentina, and perhaps even more on his effort to correct his work in a new edition. It might be well to have the new edition translated into English, as Dr. Gandía himself hopes it will be.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Archivo Santander. Vol. I, 1792-1818. Edited by Enrique Otero D'Costa and Luis Augusto Cuervo. (Bogotá: Editorial Cromos, 1940. Pp. xxi, 351. Paper.)

Santander's last will and testament provided funds for the classification of his papers, also for the writing and publication of a biography. Death stopped the biographical efforts of Dr. Francisco Soto and civil war interrupted those of Drs. Ezequiel Rojas and Carlos Martín. In 1862 most of the papers came back into the hands of the family. A few of them, however, passed (with the Martín papers) into the possession of Pedro Carlos Manrique, who published Santander's account of his disagreement with Bolívar in Revista Ilustrada (1898).

Meanwhile the mutilated archives had gone to Dr. Manuel Murillo Toro (1868), then to Dr. Roberto Suárez (1876), who rearranged, bound, and indexed the 3,476 pieces. The latter unsuccessfully sought collaborators on a biography. After the death of Suárez (1901), the papers became involved in litigation.

After a court decision (1915) General Ernesto Restrepo Tirado undertook the task of publication. It was poorly accomplished, lacking adequate notes and explanations, and including much unimportant (if not irrelevant) material.

At this point the Academia Colombiana de Historia became interested. However, before anything further was accomplished, Dr. Juan B. Pérez y Soto gained possession of the papers and sold the heart of the collection to the Venezuelan Government. Finally, those not important to Venezuela (some 400 out of the original 3,476) came to the Academia.

This volume, sponsored by the Academia and ordered published by the Ministerio de Educación Nacional, contains many of these items, supplemented by documents from well-known printed sources. The idea has been to present a well-balanced account of Santander's public life. There are a total of 357 documents: 4 for the period prior to 1810; 140 for the period 1810-1818; 213 for January-February, 1819. Most of the papers deal with his political and military career prior to the formation of La Gran Colombia, and are very valuable for the study of that disturbed era. There are letters to and from Simón Bolívar, José Antonio Páez, Carlos Soublette, Rafael Urdaneta, et al.

The work has good document and author indices. There is no indication as to the number of volumes planned for the series. For many

Latin-American specialists, the documents dealing with the 1820's and 1830's will hold more interest.

Berea College.

L. F. AND E. T. PARKS.

Rufino J. Cuervo: Cartas de su archivo. Vol. I. (Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional, 1941. Pp. 261. \$1.30.)

This volume contains letters received by a noted Colombian grammarian, during the years 1865-1877. Their nature and value might best be indicated by listing and characterizing the writers. This will also give some idea of the extensiveness of Cuervo's contacts and the variety of his interests.

Among his correspondents were the following: Cecilio Acosta (Venezuelan lawyer, linguist, writer), Roberto Bunch (British diplomat), Reinhart Dozy (Dutch historian), Pedro Fernández Madrid (Cuban poet, publicist), Juan María Gutiérrez (Argentine literato), Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (Spanish dramatist, critic, poet), Juan Montalvo (Ecuadorian man of letters), Augusto Federico Pott (German linguist), José María Sbarbi (Spanish philologist), Sergio Arboleda (Colombian educator), Indalecio Barreto (lawyer, clergyman, philosopher), Pedro Justo Berrio (statesman, university rector), José Caicedo Rojas (novelist, poet, dramatist), Rafael Celedón (bishop), César Conto (statesman, diplomat), Joaquín María Córdova (statesman), José Manuel Groot (professor, historian), Ricardo Gutiérrez Lee (doctor, diplomat), Luis Llares (professor), José Manuel Marroquín (president), Juan José Molina (judge), Santiago Pérez (president), Ezequiel Uricoechea (doctor, philosopher, grammarian).

Although this work contains much interesting material (especially of philological nature), it suffers from the lack of any explanatory preface or introduction. There is nothing to indicate whether other volumes are forthcoming; nor, if so, whether any letters from Cuervo will be included. Nevertheless, much praise is due La Biblioteca Nacional for making these papers available to an interested public.

Berea College.

E. T. PARKS.

Gobernadores y próceres de Neiva. By José María Restrepo Sáenz. [Academia Colombiana de Historia, Biblioteca de historia nacional, Vol. 63.] (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1941. Pp. viii, 579. Paper. \$2 moneda colombiana.)

The present work, a contribution of the Academia Colombiana de Historia to the commemoration of the fourth centenary of Neiva, is one of the numerous homenaje volumes which have marked the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversaries of a number of Colombian cities since 1933. Two thirds of the book are devoted to short biographical sketches, averaging several pages each, of the governors of Neiva Province from its foundation in 1612 until its incorporation into the federal state of Cundinamarca in 1857. Pages 383 to 572 comprise a section entitled *Próceres de Neiva*, representing a republication, with some additions, of the author's earlier work, *Neiva en la independencia* (1919).

Gobernadores y próceres de Neiva is of primarily local interest. Dr. Restrepo Sáenz' industry and his profound knowledge of Colombian public and private archives, as well as his exhaustive use of printed sources, have enabled him to present an abundant miscellany of well-documented facts concerning the long series of governors of Neiva during the period covered. The author himself recognizes that these biographies possess only a limited interest, since many of them refer to "obscure individuals, whose lives slipped by monotonously and peacefully." Exceptions are accounts of such individuals as Don Miguel de Gálvez v Ceballos, during whose governorship there occurred a popular rebellion (1767) of possible political significance. Of real interest to general students of Hispanic-American history are the sketches of local leaders who directed Neiva's rôle in the Patria Boba, the Spanish reconquest of 1816, and the final winning of independence. JAMES FERGUSON KING.

Northwestern University.

Escrutinio histórico: Rafael Núñez. By José Ramón Vergara. (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1939. Pp. xvi, 497. \$2.00.)

Núñez. By Joaquín Tamayo. (Bogotá: Editorial Cromos, 1939. Pp. x, 224, [4].)

Núñez is rarely discussed dispassionately by Colombians. He is either praised or damned, depending on the political views of the speaker or writer.

The Vergara volume runs true to form. While admitting that Núñez possessed an enigmatic and puzzling personality, the author is fulsome in praise of his hero. The work is valuable because of its extensive quotations from documents and papers—many published for the first time. However, the author's claim to complete impartiality may be seriously questioned.

The Tamayo work is much more objective, although its organization "smacks" of fiction. The character delineation of Núñez is exceptional: freethinker, defender of Catholic faith; materialist, invoker of God; federalist by tradition, centralist in office; tolerant in his writings, intolerant in his acts; revolutionist in time of peace, conserver in midst of war; disciple of freedom of the press, destroyer of its freedom for his political opponents.

In spite of these contradictions, Núñez must be ranked among the greatest of Colombian presidents. These two biographies should aid foreigners in understanding the man and his times.

E. T. PARKS.

Berea College.

Historia de México. By Francisco Banegas Galván. (Morelia: Tipografía Comercial, 1923, Vol. II. Pp. 572, lxxxiv. \$4.00; Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1938, 1940. Vols. I and III. Pp. 508, vii; 331, iii. Vol. I, \$5.00.)

The author of these volumes was Don Francisco Banegas Galván, formerly rector of the Seminary of Morelia and later Bishop of Querétaro, now deceased. Exiled with other clerics, he lived for five years in Chicago. In Chicago Bishop Banegas and Don Francisco Plancarte, archbishop of Monterrey, also now deceased, decided to write the history of Mexico, Plancarte to write the history of the country before the coming of the Spaniards, and Banegas the history from the beginning of the independence movement.

Archbishop Plancarte finished volume one of his pre-history of Mexico but had not arranged the material in final order before his death. This volume was published nevertheless by his heirs. Volume two was in rough draft only, and his heirs refused to publish it.

Bishop Banegas wrote his Historia de México by availing himself of materials found in the Newberry Library. After a stay of five years in Chicago, he returned to Mexico in 1919 and was soon made Bishop of Querétaro, but in spite of his many duties and demands on his time, he attempted to publish volume two by 1921 in order to have it appear on the centenary of Iturbide's independence movement. He could not finish the work of revision until 1922, and it was not published until 1923. Volumes one and three were published posthumously; Bishop Banegas had volume one in rough draft and was giving it to the press gradually as he revised it, but only a little more than a hundred pages had been printed before the government closed the press. Soon thereafter Bishop Banegas died, November, 1932.

The work of getting out the remainder of volume one and to publish also what Bishop Banegas had done on volume three was left to

Father Jesús García Gutiérrez, author of Apuntamientos de Historia Eclesiástica Mejicana and Primer Siglo Guadalupano: Documentación Indígena y Española (1531-1648).

Bishop Banegas, according to his own words, had planned a work of four volumes to begin with the early movements for independence and to end with the fall of the first centralist republic. The present work ends with an unfinished discussion of the status of Texas in the relations between Mexico and the United States.

Archbishops Luis M. Martínez and Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores deserve much praise for providing for the publication of this work. It is true that the work is not a complete history of Mexico, that certain periods and certain men are overemphasized, and that clerical policies are perhaps overly defended. Nevertheless, Bishop Banegas, if not too efficient an organizer and arranger, was an indefatigable investigator and analyst of historical data. As such he must be classified as an historian of great merit.

Banegas begins his long work with an interesting introduction which he calls "Idea de la Nueva España," comprising 150 pages. Emphasis in this chapter is on the economic and social life of New Spain, with very little emphasis on the political or religious side. The section on education in New Spain although necessarily brief is excellent and well documented. The part on the rôle of the Church is unusually unbiased and factual, comprising mainly an account of the patronage and its effects and the establishment of churches and convents. The rest of volume one, about 350 pages, is devoted to the independence movement (1810-1821), which is discussed in great detail.

To Banegas, Hidalgo was an undisciplined but superior person who had the interests of his people at heart. It is natural that he should emphasize the retraction of Hidalgo, which Bustamante considers forged and Mora believes the result of pressure brought to bear by the confessor of Hidalgo during his last moments on earth. Father Banegas, however, judiciously presents both sides of the question. Morelos' activities are treated in the same manner but with less comment.

Volume two embraces in its 572 pages the period of Iturbide's rule and overthrow, 1821-1824. A very useful appendix of seventy-seven pages of primary sources related to Iturbide complete the volume. Iturbide is portrayed as self-aggrandizing, irresponsible, and selfish, but withal an instrument through which nationality could have been attained and perpetuated in a form to which New Spain was accustomed. His enemies, in good faith, could see only his de-

fects, says Banegas, and instead of tolerating them and uniting with him to save him and themselves and the nation as well, they overthrew him, thinking that they could maintain the guarantees of Iguala without the monarchy and without Iturbide. This view is similar to that of recent biographers of Iturbide.

Volume III, the unfinished volume, comprises the period from 1821 to about 1840. Banegas believes that before 1816 there were no French heterodox philosophies influencing the Mexican liberals. He discounts the records of the investigation of Hidalgo's beliefs in 1800, considering that investigation to be an examination of entirely different matters. Morelos he believes slightly influenced by such ideas, but he shows that although the constitution of Apatzingán placed sovereignty exclusively in the people, Morelos's declaration of independence had said that God was the creator of society and the moderating arbiter of all empires.

As one would expect, Banegas attacks regalism as a destroyer of religion and the Church. He continues by accusing the Masons in Mexico of attempting to assume the patronage in order to destroy the religious orders and the unity of the Church. He considers this aim and purpose as the basis for the reforms of Gómez Farías of 1833. But he goes further and accuses the Masons, through the words of José M. Tornel, a Yorkino, of attempting to create an exclusively new world system to be led by the United States because of its power and earlier independence. Mora, Banegas points out, stated that the Scottish Rite Masons originated this idea and that the York Rite Masons supported it. In the face of such a threat, Banegas believes that the clergy had the right to support Santa Anna and the Plan de Cuernavaca to overthrow the reforms of the liberals. Santa Anna is unscrupulous and an opportunist, it is true, but the Church needed someone strong and influential upon whom it could call for protection. Hence the praises for Santa Anna in the Cathedral of Mexico City upon the overthrow of the federal republic.

Even if one does not care to agree with the viewpoints of the author, this book presents much food for thought in a most interesting style. Banegas leans perhaps too heavily upon Alamán, Bustamante, and Cuevas, but he uses many primary materials, including the documents collected by Genaro García. Footnotes are profuse and very interesting to read when he presents various angles of a question. Without doubt, one would classify Banegas as the writer of an erudite history. Volume two would probably be considered the best of the three volumes by most scholars, not only because of the scholarly presentation of Iturbide's empire and its problems, but

also because of the many documents printed in the appendix which are thus made available for future use. All must agree that a service has been rendered to Latin-Americanists by the publication of this work.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Vida política, social, e intelectual de Venezuela. La Conquista. By Gabriel Espinosa. (Caracas: Tipografía La Nación, 1940. Pp. 176. Bs. 6.)

This book is dedicated "to the very rare Venezuelans whom, as individuals, the political life of their country saddens and makes ashamed." The author insists that upon the death of Gómez neither the directing class nor the people sought to take advantage of the relative freedom allowed by López Contreras to establish a rule of law and justice. All want only plunder and personal advantage; there is no sense of collective justice, only egoism. From the people come the "buenos oficiales," the "coroneles," the "hombres de confianza," the spies, the executioners for those in power. In his severe indictment of the Venezuelan character, with its indolence, servilism, mendacity, parasitism, turbulent demagogy, and disposition to plunder and war-he finds the basis of the weaknesses in the racial composition of the people, the Spaniard, the Indian, and the Negro, and in certain historical and social forces produced by their association. Indeed, while he seems to put the main weight on race, in the evolution of his thesis the historical forces stand out.

The emphasis in this first volume is on the contribution of the Carib group to Venezuelan blood and character. The author undertakes a defense of these Indians against some of the charges made against them, especially that of cannibalism; and puts much weight on them as a basic element of the present Venezuelan people. The conquerors and the missionaries tended to bring out and perpetuate the socially destructive qualities of the Indian. Several chapters are devoted to a criticism of the mission régime as it affected the natives.

The thesis of the writer is not, of course, a new one. Venezuelan historians and sociologists have attributed their "democratic caesarism" to this factor of race. The author disagrees with the "sociologists," however, in that he refuses to accept the situation as static and unmodifiable or even as a period of social evolution that must be accepted and endured. It is true, he confesses sadness and doubt in view of the incapacity of the Venezuelan for a rule of social justice. The problem, as he sees it, is ethical rather more than political or

social. The remedy lies in affective education, teaching by example, rather than book; but where are the models? He agrees that there are some.

This study, as planned by the author, will consist of three volumes. The other two are La Colonia and La República.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el descubrimiento de su territorio por los Castellanos en el siglo XV, hasta el año de 1797. By RAFAEL MARÍA BARALT. (Brujas, Bélgica: Desclée, De Brouwer y Cia., 1939. Pp. XI, 503.)

Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el año de 1797 hasta el de 1830. Con notas de Vicente Lecuna. Tiene al fin un breve bosquejo histórico que comprende los años de 1831 hasta 1837. By RAFAEL MARÍA BARALT and RAMÓN DÍAZ. (Brujas, Bélgica: Desclée, De Brouwer y Cia., 1939. 2 vols. Pp. 485+ and 446+.)

A new and needed edition of the well-known *Historia de Venezuela* by Baralt was among the publications sponsored by the Academia Nacional de la Historia de Venezuela in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. The Academy is to be congratulated on its long record of service in the presentation, interpretation, and dissemination of important secondary and source materials.

In a note in the volume on colonial history (p. 466), the author states, "The small merit which is found in this work is due solely to the excellent writers whom we have consulted and, as a rule, followed; theirs must be the glory as it was the labor." Yáñez, Compendio de la historia de Venezuela seems to have been followed rather closely, though due credit is given to Muñoz, Navarrete, Herrera, Oviedo, Robertson, Humboldt, Clemencín, Montenegro, and others.

It is to be regretted that annotations were not added to point out the omissions and errors, excusable perhaps in a book written over a century ago, in accordance with the plan followed in the two volumes dealing with the period 1797-1837.

Though Díaz is named as being a co-author in the later period, Baralt did practically all of the writing. Dr. Vicente Lecuna, an authority on the political philosophy and military career of Bolívar, in judicious footnotes has corrected and supplemented the data on the independence period in the light of recent research. In one place he explains that a principal cause of the defeat in the campaign of 1814 was inability of the revolutionists to buy arms because of the

English embargo; muskets could be purchased only in small lots from American vessels. In a note relative to the interview at Guayaquil, Baralt's contention that Bolívar offered San Martín an army of four thousand men is upheld, and internal evidence is presented to prove that the Lafond letter describing that episode is apocryphal. When referring to the Liberator, the notes follow the "cult of Bolívar," which tends to glorify him.

The numerous portraits of famous personages with which all three volumes are illustrated is a noteworthy feature.

It will be recalled that the books are annalistic, a year-by-year account being given from 1810 to 1830. The traditional story of the discoveries of Columbus and Ojeda is given. The conquest of the Indians by 1600, the settlement of towns, the attacks of English and French freebooters, and the political development of the area are told in detail. One third of the book on colonial history is devoted to agriculture, trade and commerce, earthquakes, education, taxation, and other social and economic conditions. The narration of the struggle for independence and the founding of the republic occasionally ceases to be impartial and impassionate.

Born in 1810, the author was very close to many of the events and people of which he wrote. His outlook was conservative and ecclesiastic. Contemporaries, both friend and foe, attacked sundry interpretations and characterizations, and their criticisms may have been partially responsible for his spending the rest of his life in Spain, where he became an outstanding literary figure.

The charming Spanish in which this history is written makes it a classic in Hispanic-American literature. The style, though not always consistent, is a perennial delight. Baralt is considered to be one of Venezuela's illustrious authors, and some critics believe that this is his most enduring work.

WILLIAM H. GRAY.

The Pennsylvania State College.

The Discovery of Yucatán. By Francisco Hernández de Córdoba.

A translation of the original texts with an introduction and notes by Henry R. Wagner. [New Series.] (Berkeley: The Cortés Society, 1942. Pp. vii, 85.)

Many were those who were sorry when the Cortés Society ceased its series of publications of documents relating to the discovery of Latin America, and with this first issue of the New Series there will be many who will wish the Cortés Society a long and strong life.

The first issue of the New Series concerns itself with the several,

and at times disagreeing, reports on the Hernández de Córdoba expedition which lead to the discovery of Yucatán, and which became the spark that set off the Spanish artillery of the Conquest of the Indians of Mexico.

To translate the sixteenth-century Spanish is no mean job, and to put it into flowing and readable English, without losing the rich color of the language of the conquistadores, is even more difficult. Mr. Henry R. Wagner has done exceedingly well. Those tough Spanish soldiers did not bother with spelling and punctuation. They wrote just as it sounded, and therefore most translation of sixteenth-century Spanish must be done "by ear." Indian words, especially Aztec words, entered the language of the day, and many of these words are now being used. None the less the translator cannot solely rely on a Spanish dictionary, but often must consult dictionaries of Maya, Aztec, and other Indian languages. Mr. Wagner could have added a few interesting details to his notes by doing this, but it does not really matter. The translation as a whole is fine.

Mr. Wagner overemphasizes the importance of water to the Indians. Water was more important to the Spaniards on shipboard. Even though there are no rivers in Yucatán and rains often are badly needed, the Maya never had to worry about drinking water. Every native town lay by or was close to a cenote, as can be seen from the Relaciones de Yucatán and the Quijada papers. The porous quarternary limestone of which Yucatán is built absorbs rainwater quickly and lets it seep into underground rivers and cenotes. Often the fields are thirsting for water, but the inhabitants have plenty for drinking. No! The Indians did not object so much to the Spanish thirst, as to the way in which the Spaniards attacked at the least provocation.

Mr. Wagner has done a fine job in assembling the source material, and weighing it in his notes. Those who are interested in learning about what happened in the days when the New World still was something of a mirage, will be thankful for this publication, and I hope it will find a wide audience, much wider than the limited edition of 250 copies will permit.

Which leads to a question. Shall the Cortés Society be limited to specialists, or, at this time when the interest in Latin-American things is growing daily, should the Society appeal to a wider circle of readers? If the Cortés Society wishes to become an instrument for the diffusion of historical knowledge to the new-born public, then the editions of its publications should be larger. On the other hand, if the Cortés Society wishes to concentrate on historical research by publishing rare material from books and unpublished documents, then

English translations should be superfluous, as it should be expected that the student of Latin-American matters is conversant with the Spanish language.

FRANS BLOM.

New Orleans, La.

La Compañía de Jesús en México. Compendio histórico. By F. Zam-Brano, S.J. (Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1939. Pp. 200. Paper.)

This is a useful work of reference. Indeed, it may be said to fill a need. Here are gathered together, grouped into various sections, the colleges, the missions, and the important personalities, missionaries and writers, for instance, of the Jesuits in Mexico from their arrival in 1572 up to the year 1940 when the Society of Jesus celebrated its four-hundredth anniversary. Most interesting and informative, for instance, are the notices of the missions of Lower California, and we read of a Jesuit brother, Pedro Nieto, former soldier with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who lived to be one hundred and thirty-two years of age, dying in 1637.

Unfortunately, the author has not had access to all the historical sources and perhaps this is too much to expect of one compiling this sort of synthetic work, for the documents have not yet been published. There are lacunae, therefore, and omissions. Father Zambrano was probably unable to consult the very rare Historia Seditionum of Joseph Neumann, vigorous seventeenth-century missionary among the Tarahumares in northern Mexico. Notable events and revolts happening here, that of 1697 for instance, are omitted. Other omissions occur. The name of José Pascual does not appear among the Varones Ilustres, though he was one of the most important of the early missionaries of lower Tarahumara. But the author indicates he took only names already listed by Florencia, Oviedo and Palomo.

Inaccuracies appear here and there. No conquista de los Ures took place in 1597, nor was Santiago Papasquiaro founded among the Tepehuanes in 1594, but in 1598; and the founder was not Francisco, but Gerónimo Ramírez. This last error comes straight out of Alegre who in the eighteenth century wrote a classic history of the Mexican Jesuits. The two full-page maps in this compendio are both deficient and inaccurate.

One very useful feature of the work is the chronological table which lists with their respective dates down the centuries the popes, Jesuit generals, kings of Spain, viceroys, archbishops of Mexico City, Jesuit provincials and provincial congregations. An index, however, would have added to the usefulness of the book.

PETER M. DUNNE, S.J.

La obra histórica de Hermilio Valdizán. By Juan B. Lastres. (Lima: privately printed, ca. 1942. Pp. 31. Paper.)

This booklet is both a eulogy and a bibliography of Hermilio de Valdizán. It is no less dignified for being so. Dr. Lastres is frankly an admirer of his old teacher—forty-four at the time he died!—and were it not so, this tribute and bibliography would not have appeared. Dr. Lastres makes clear the tremendous pioneering rôle of Dr. Valdizán in psychiatry and in the establishment of a hospital for the insane in Peru. He includes a good characterization of this noble, energetic man who was Dr. Valdizán. Then he proceeds to set down in prose the meaning of the principal works of this self-taught historian. Between books, magazine and newspaper articles Dr. Lastres has given Dr. Valdizán credit for 148 printed items and ten inedited works. That is not an insignificant record for a man whose interest was not primarily history.

Dr. Valdizán was an untrained historian tremendously pushed by the multitude of his self-imposed tasks. Thus he was never able to get his historical writings entirely out of the stage in which the material was taken down in notes. His collecting of information was so prodigious and his enthusiasm so obvious that no one—not even more professional historians—will be able to ignore him. For this reason this little compendium of Dr. Lastres deserves to be entered in the literature of Latin-American medical history. It is a great deal like the work of Dr. Valdizán itself. Let us hope that it does something to make a significant career as well known as it deserves to be.

LEWIS HANKE.

The Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress.

Coronado's Seven Cities. By George P. Hammond. Foreword by Clinton P. Anderson. (Albuquerque, N. M.: United States Coronado Exposition Commission, 1940. Pp. 82.)

This excellent brief summary, designed for popular use, is unusual in that it is both accurate and popular. Professor Hammond had helped prepare the scholarly edition of the *Coronado Narratives* and, hence, was in an ideal position to provide this lively little volume for the public. His location of Quivira near Wichita, Kansas, rather than near Lyons, Kansas, is the only point on which the reviewer would disagree. However, Professor H. E. Bolton's forthcoming study of the actual route may prove that both the author and the reviewer are wrong.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

Chivilcoy. La región y las chacras. By Mauricio Birabent. [Publicaciones del Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires. Contribución a la historia de los pueblos de la Provincia de Buenos Aires. XIX.] (La Plata: Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1941. Pp. 136.)

Chivileoy, a district and township in the Province of Buenos Aires, some 100 miles east of the federal capital, forms the subject of this useful addition to a valuable series. Well watered by the Río Salado, its affluents, and numerous small lakes, the district must frequently have been used as a camping ground by the Araucanian Indians of colonial times, although the name Chivileoy does not appear in official documents until 1758. The theories of Pastor S. Obligado and Trelles that Chivileoy derived its name from some Indian cacique is less probable than the theory advanced by Estanislao Zeballos and others, that Chivileoy (or Chivileó) was a word formed from the Pampa Araucanian dialect and denoted the presence of water.

Señor Birabent then sketches the history of the district, from the first appearance of white settlers, towards the end of the eighteenth century, to 1865, when the first railroad was laid, connecting the town with the city of Buenos Aires. Historical references are slight, emphasis being laid chiefly on the growth of the community. In 1854, the year in which the Province of Buenos Aires adopted its semi-independent status, Chivilcoy became a municipality, and the land-holdings of settlers in this year and in 1857 are indicated in detail.

The monograph is documented and illustrated, and has a bibliography of 46 items. The only regrets are that the repercussions of political events are largely overlooked, that Indian maraudings are not examined in detail, and that the narrative ends at 1866, before the influx of foreign immigrants transformed the agricultural activities of the district.

A. J. WALFORD.

London University.

Havana: Cinderella's City. By Hugh Bradley. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1941. Pp. 435 + 19. Selected Bibliography. Index. \$3.50.)

This book is a colorful history of Cuba's four hundred and twenty-two-year-old capital. The story here told by Hugh Bradley, the well-known journalist and author of Such Was Saratoga, is, however, much more than a conventional history. It is also the dramatic story of the Island of Cuba. For, upon the assumption that "la ciudad es

patria pequeña," meaning, "the city is one's country in miniature," the writer has produced a delightfully interesting book which gives an excellent picture of Cuba's rôle in the discovery, exploration, conquest and settlement of the New World. In the bold sweep of this engaging narrative, the reader may see the emergence of Havana as a strategic outpost of an expanding European civilization and follow, in broad outline, its evolution as a city of modern importance in the Western Hemisphere.

In doing this Mr. Bradley has filled his pages with many a spicy tale—some trite, others significant—relating to the historical and institutional development of Havana. Although there are perhaps minor points on which the scholar might wish additional information, the treatment is based on standard secondary accounts. No attempt was made, therefore, to make an original contribution to the history of the city of Havana. Consequently, the volume will be of interest chiefly to the social historian.

George W. Auxier.

Department of State.

Exposición de aspectos del Cabildo, fuerte, catedral, recova y Plaza de Mayo (Con motivo de la restauración del Cabildo de Buenos Aires, 12 de Octubre de 1940). By Comisión Nacional de Museos y de Monumentos y Lugares Históricos. Catálogo de la exposición por Alejo B. González Garaño. (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1940. Pp. 39, láminas 30. Paper.)

Dr. Ricardo Levene and the Argentine National Commission of Museums and of Monuments and Historic Sites have labored with devotion to restore Argentina's historic buildings. No structure deserved better at their hands than the Cabildo of Buenos Aires on the Plaza de Mayo. Its restoration and rededication late in 1940 were accompanied by an exhibition of 182 old paintings, engravings, and photographs of Buenos Aires, the Cabildo, the ancient fort, the Casa Rosada, the Cathedral, and the old Teatro Colón. This brochure is a catalogue of the exhibition, incorporating excellent reproductions of thirty of the exhibits.

Washington, D. C.

San Dionisio de los Caballeros de Tocaima. By Alejandro Carranza B. [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Vol. LXIV.] (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1941. Venta: Librería Colombiana. Pp. x, 286. Paper. 2 pesos.)

This volume reflects that love of the patria chica which, under the stimulus of the current wave of fourth-centenary celebrations, is pro-

ducing numerous valuable studies of Colombian cities. Tocaima, the subject of the present work, is in the Magdalena Valley, on the railroad which connects Bogotá with the river port of Girardot.

The author's method is episodic and chronological. After a description of the savage Panches, the Carib tribe which once dominated the vicinity, the history of the city from its establishment by Hernán Venegas in 1544 until the Battle of Boyacá is related. Incontrovertible documentary evidence establishes the fact that Tocaima was founded no later than March 20, despite the early cronistas' agreement that April was the date. Brief biographies sum up available information concerning the original settlers; and the author is at particular pains to clear up a case of mistaken identity involving the important conquistadores Juan Díaz Hidalgo and Juan Díaz Jaramillo. The bulk of the volume is devoted to chronicling the typical vicissitudes of a Spanish colonial city—with numerous sidelights on the condition of society—during the next three centuries. An appendix contains a brief discussion of municipal, provincial, and central government in colonial New Granada.

Señor Carranza's work abounds in evidences of thorough research in the Colombian archives and in printed sources. Lengthy unedited documents and parenthetical indications of sources are incorporated into the text. Although these are of basic value, the book would be even more readable than it is if they were relegated to appendixes and footnotes.

James Ferguson King.

Northwestern University.

Proceedings of the Third Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1940. Pp. 371. \$5.00.)

The Third Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association met in a propitious year. The great milestones in the history of printing—the five-hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing, the quadricentennial of printing in Mexico, and the tercentenary of the first press in Massachusetts could be appropriately commemorated in 1940. It is interesting to recall that it was also just a little over a century since the first press was established on the west coast of America, at Monterey, California, then under Mexican rule.

The papers presented at the Conference fall into two well-defined groups—bibliography, and libraries and archives. There is considerable unevenness in the contributions varying from a few general re-

marks to exhaustive studies. As an example of the latter there is included the "Bibliografía del Patronato Nacional," by Enrique Arana, Director of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires. This scholarly bibliography on the relations of church and state in Argentina from 1810 to 1937 deservedly received the José Toribio Medina Bibliographical Prize in 1940. The statement that twenty-nine original bibliographies were submitted for the award indicates the increasing interest in recording and appraising the literature of Latin America and in the number of bibliographers working in this field. Among other papers those presented by James B. Childs on "Colombian Government Publications" and by William Jerome Wilson on "A Narrative of the Discovery of Venezuela" in the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations, merit praise.

It is disappointing that the section on libraries and archives offers little on the history of Latin-American libraries or on special collections of books and manuscripts; subjects on which there is meager information in print. "The Human Side of a Great Collection" by Carlos E. Castañeda gives a delightful description of the acquisition of the García, the Justin H. Smith, the Icazbalceta, and the Muñoz collections at the University of Texas.

Bibliographers and collectors of Latin-Americana will look forward to succeeding volumes of the *Proceedings* in the hope that space will be found for historical and descriptive bibliography in this increasingly important field of scholarship.

EDITH M. COULTER.

Berkeley, California.

Investigations in Progress in the United States in the Field of Latin-American Humanistic and Social Science Studies. Edited by ALEXANDER MARCHANT and CHARMION SHELBY. Advisory editor, JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK. (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1942. Pp. xi, 236.)

This invaluable list of scholars in the Latin-American field is one of a series of publications of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, edited under the general supervision of Dr. Lewis Hanke.

Names of scholars are listed alphabetically. After each name is a statement of age (save for certain modest exceptions), mailing address, the Latin-American field of major interest, indication of publication already completed in the field (but with an unfortunate limitation to five titles), and a list of investigations in progress with

frequently hopeful estimates of the date for the probable completion of those investigations. Two appendixes carry names, addresses, and principal field of research of persons who have been active in Latin-American studies but who reported no work now in progress, and an implicitly reproachful list of those persons who did not reply to the questionnaire on which this study was based.

One of the most useful features of the compilation is to be found in the indexes of names arranged by field of interest and by region.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Library of Congress.

El Negro. By José Colombán Rosario and Justina Carrión. [Boletín de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Serie X, No. 2.] (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Negociado de Materiales, Imprenta y Transporte, 1940. Pp. xi, 174.)

This little volume, issued as a bulletin of the University of Puerto Rico, proposes to examine the status and history of the Negro race in Puerto Rico, the United States and Haiti and at the same time cast some light on the complex problem of racial transplantation and acculturation from a sociological point of view.

There is a peculiarly nineteenth-century approach to the question which reminds one of the manner in which certain historians of the past essayed a discussion of contemporary events; by beginning at the literal beginning, with the emergence of man as a social being and working toward the specific epoch under discussion. In like fashion, the authors of this frail little essay commence with a definition of sociology, a study of the Negro in his origins which, incidentally, reveal an astonishing theory of how the white man turned black, and work toward an examination of the problem of racial contacts and prejudices in Puerto Rico. In a thin volume of less than two hundred pages there is presented an array of problems that would merit at least a small library.

The content is extremely superficial. The chapter groupings are frequently infantile in form. The most unusual fact, however, is the bibliography from which came the material presented. It is recognized, of course, that many books are based on bibliographies that are never read but which consist of an alphabetical arrangement of titles taken from any convenient card file. The bibliography to the volume under review must have been drawn from the file of a very incomplete and inadequate library. It is obvious that any study of the Negro in the New World must take into account the fundamental studies that have been made already. In this bibliography there is not one

word of Melville Herskovits, in spite of his extraordinary contributions to Africanist studies. The distinguished Cuban, Fernando Ortiz, whose work constitutes the point of departure for Negro studies in Cuba, is left out. Arthur Ramos, the great Brazilian authority on things Negro, is nowhere mentioned. In dealing with Haiti, the authors employ only the most elementary sources. The little series of lectures of M. Dantès Bellegarde, delivered in Puerto Rico in 1936 and the now out-of-date work of Léger on Haiti form the basis of the chapter. No word is included of the basic contributions of Dr. Price Mars, without whom one should not attempt to interpret the evolution and background of the Haitian people.

It is plain that a good work on the Negro in Puerto Rico is badly needed. No island in the West Indies is perhaps as neglected in this field. However, one must confess that the present volume neither fills this need nor does it in any manner satisfy the student interested in obtaining some concept of the place of the Negro race in Puerto Rico and the other territories discussed.

Washington, D. C.

RICHARD PATTEE.

The Social Organization of the Western Apache. By Grenville Goodwin. [The University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Ethnological Series.] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xx, 701 pages. \$4.50.)

This important addition to ethnological literature describes the social organization of the Apache who dominated what is now east-central Arizona. Due to intensive field work with these people over a long period, the author is able to present a convincing account of clan organization, social segments based on kinship and locality, marriage, and the life cycle. Technical matters are treated in appendices. There is also a section tracing the known history of the Western Apache and their contacts with other peoples. The picture of Western Apache life is vitalized by the introduction of much colorful source material, and the modern adjustment as well as the aboriginal condition is given for the institutions discussed.

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER.

Claremont College, Claremont, California.

Los Mochicas. By Rafael Larco Hoyle. (Lima: Casa Editoria "La Crónica" y "Variedades." Tomo I, 1938, Pp. 137; Tomo II, 1939, Pp. 163. \$10.00, \$8.00. Paper.)

Rafael Larco Hoyle, Director of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, at Hacienda Chiclin, in the Chicama Valley, the heart of the Chimu

area, has published the first two of a projected series of eight volumes on the Mochica (Early Chimu) people.

The first discusses the place of Mochica culture in space and time, and the valley, desert and seacoast environment of this part of the north coast of Peru. The second is concerned with the Mochica people racially and linguistically—the Mochica language is virtually extinct and has been inadequately recorded. It concludes with chapters on "writing" and government.

This is not the place to analyze Larco's hypotheses of cultural chronology and development, nor his apparent belief in the autochthonous evolution of the American Indian. Few Peruvianists would agree entirely with the former and practically no anthropologists with the latter. But for American archaeologists, and particularly for Andean archaeologists, he has done a great service in beginning to publish the wealth of Mochica material under his care at the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera.

The Mochicas, who lived on the north central coast of Peru in early pre-Inca times, left records in realistic pottery modeling and vase painting which no American Indians and few, if any, Old World peoples have equalled in the range, variety and completeness of depiction of environment, daily life and ceremonial activity. Limited aspects of this rich and intensely interesting ethnography, preserved in Mochica art, have been discussed, but Larco's is the first attempt at comprehensive treatment.

In the sections on geography, race, "writing" and government, he has presented hundreds of cuts and photographs of hitherto unpublished vessels and scenes from vessels to illustrate the various topics. There may be some argument as to whether the Mochicas used Lima beans, variously incised, as a form of writing—a form of gaming seems equally plausible—and there is probably some tendency to overconfidence in the interpretation of scenes reflecting concepts of which we are, after all, almost completely ignorant. Nevertheless, Larco has contributed a great body of evidence which one may interpret as one chooses to, and this is, or should be, the primary aim of the archaeologist in a field where, as Larco says in his prologue, there has been too much emphasis on the accounts of the chroniclers and too little on the analysis of material remains in the interpretation of early culture history.

ALFRED KIDDER, II.

La instrucción primaria desde 1810 hasta la sanción de la Ley 1420. By Antonino Salvadores. (Buenos Aires: Consejo Nacional de Educación, 1941. Pp. 393. Paper.)

This is a well-documented and interesting historical study of the development of elementary education in Argentina from 1810 until the adoption in 1884 of the famous law No. 1420. The original manuscript received second prize in the competition held by the Consejo Nacional de Educación on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the enactment of this law. The published volume represents a complete revision of the original manuscript, bringing up to date its documentation and bibliography. The author, whose doctorate is in the field of history, is professor of the teaching of history and geography.

The text presents a vivid picture of the interplay of two important factors in the development of education in Argentina: the innovating, democratic spirit of the new world, and the educational traditions of the Catholic Church in the Latin countries.

Of special interest in this country and in England is the picture it traces of the influence of English-Protestant groups who led in the introduction of the Lancastrian system and whose private schools enjoyed a freedom unusual for a Spanish-speaking country during the early half of the nineteenth century.

Law No. 1420, whose enactment in 1884 brings the study to a close, is seen in the light of the text to be the natural and almost inevitable result of a long period of development culminating in the great impetus given to Argentine education by Sarmiento, who brought together and expressed so effectively aspirations which had made themselves increasingly evident during the preceding one hundred years.

THOMAS E. BENNER.

University of Illinois.

Popular Cuban Music. Eighty revised and corrected compositions together with an essay on the evolution of music in Cuba by Emilio Grenet. Prologue by Dr. Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes. Translated by R. Phillips. (Havana: Carasa & Co., 1939. Pp. xlix, 199. Cloth.)

Although Cuba is a small country, Cuban influence on American music (North and South) has been large. The rhythm of the habanera has spread from Cuba to virtually all of Latin America and has engendered innumerable hybrid forms, including the tango

of Argentina. In the realm of popular dance music, the rumba, the son and the conga have made a vital impact upon the North American scene. In the sphere of art music, Cuba has produced two powerful creative talents in Alejandro García Caturla and Amadeo Roldán. who drew much of their inspiration from the potent Afro-Cuban element. Thus there is every reason to welcome a work which casts light on the origin and nature of the popular musical forms of Cuba. Sr. Grenet's 49-page introductory essay, generously strewn with musical examples, studies in considerable detail the rhythmic characteristics of Cuban music, showing how the Iberian rhythms and melodies (chiefly Andalusian) have been modified by local influences (chiefly Negro), and giving a brief history and analysis of each of the more important popular forms, such as the zapateo, habanera, canción, danzón, guaracha, conga, pregón, etc. The musical selections range from the Danzas Cubanas for piano by Ignacio Cervantes (1847-1905) to songs by Ernesto Lecuona and other well-known contemporaries. The dances by Cervantes are on a higher artistic plane than most of the other compositions, some of which have a rather ephemeral quality. From the scholar's point of view, it is the introduction rather than the music which provides the chief value of this collection.

GILBERT CHASE.

Library of Congress.

Apuntes sobre la historia de la moneda colonial en el Perú. El Reglamento de la Casa de Moneda de 1755. By Manuel Moreyra y Paz-Soldán. (Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1938. Pp. 41. Paper.)

Antecedentes españoles y el circulante durante la conquista e iniciación del virreinato. By Manuel Moreyra y Paz-Soldán. (Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1941. Pp. 56. Paper.)

In the first of these two monographs the author presents the main provisions of the royal decree of November 11, 1755, governing the operations of the mint at Lima. The document was discovered in a private archive. Besides regulating the metallic content, fineness, tolerance, and denominations of the coinage, it describes the duties of the officers and lesser functionaries of the mint. To those economists and historians interested in the evolution of coinage and of our contemporary moneys-of-account the monograph represents a significant contribution.

The second monograph is a good though brief story of money in Peru in the sixteenth century. After a short introductory statement on money in medieval times in western Europe and in Spain in the pre-colonial era, the author connects the monetary reforms of Isabel in 1475, 1476, 1488, and 1497 with the development of coinage in America. In his discussion of money in Peru during and after the conquest, Moreyra treats ably the value relationships of gold and silver and the monetary equivalents of the various coins. By reference to statements of chroniclers and travelers of that period, he gives a general, if very rough, idea of the influence of early treasure on prices in Peru. Reliance throughout the work is placed heavily on select secondary sources. Among recent writers cited are Haring, Hamilton, Gonnard, and Moll; references to earlier writers include Colmeiro, Humboldt, Pirenne, Herrera, Francisco de Jerez, Garcilaso de la Vega, and others.

W. H. DELAPLANE.

Duke University.

Finanzas y guerra. By Bruno Moll. (Lima: Librería Internacional del Perú, S. A., 1941. Pp. 154. Paper. \$1.00.)

In this book on public finance and war, Dr. Moll does not attempt to make a complete analysis of the subject. It is unfortunate, however, that the brevity of this work results in considerable sketchiness. In many places assertions on fiscal policy set forth as final and unalterable truths are still the subject of vigorous debate, at least among economists in the United States and England. His viewpoint toward the problems of fiscal and monetary policy is conservative. Unproductive governmental expenditures (e.g., war) should not be financed by borrowing. Devaluation does not create new resources. Without exchange control we would have free and high quotations on foreign money, a free market for bills, more bills, and a greater volume of imports and exports (pp. 101-102). Inflation is treated only in the sense of hyper-inflation like that in Germany in 1920-1923. For controlling inflation rationing is futile.

In the chapter on the destruction of financial and business ethics, Dr. Moll attributes to the Treaty of Versailles the creation of unequaled hate evident today. Granted that the sections of the treaty concerning reparations together with the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan later in the twenties treated the problem unrealistically, contributed to the breakdown of international debt payments and to the weakening of the sense of moral obligation on the part of nations, and led to a rapidly spreading system of exchange control and default of debts, the reviewer cannot agree that recent light regard by Germany of the sanctity of contracts can be blamed on the peace of

Versailles. German leaders held lightly the treaty with Belgium in 1914 and with other small neighbors in the last century. Many question today whether Versailles was not too easy; few question the way in which it would have contrasted with a German-dictated peace.

Despite the failure of this work to treat the problem of public finance, money, and war as adequately as do some recent works of American and British economists, it does lay the basis for further examination of the correctness of monetary and fiscal policy on the part of the United States government in the past twelve years and what that policy should be in the postwar period. It is clear that the size of the postwar debt will require a more careful weighing of gains against losses from deficit financing.

Duke University.

W. H. DELAPLANE.

Exposición retrospectiva de la enseñanza. Obras de los profesores. Catálogo. (Santiago de Chile: Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1941. Pp. 325, 16 plates. Paper.)

It is quite likely that the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Santiago was celebrated in many ways, but it is doubtful whether any was more unique or valuable than the production of this volume. The work of more than 130 collaborators including officials of the Ministry of Education, teachers and clergy, it had as its purpose the listing of the publications of Chile's teaching force from the beginning of the nation's existence. A patient and persevering search, which apparently left no source neglected, has resulted in the compilation of an imposing number of works, many of them previously unknown or forgotten.

The first section, "Obra escolar," deals exclusively with works on teaching, grouped under the headings of Periodicals and Pedagogical Reviews, School Reviews, Pedagogy, Educational Psychology, Methodology, History of Education, Pedagogical Bibliography and Didactic Works.

The second section, "Obra extraescolar," lists works in the fields of Philosophy, History, Literature, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.

The subdivision dealing with history comprises 44 pages in double column listed alphabetically as to authors. The compilers evidently had an extremely broad conception of the term "history," or were perplexed as to the proper classification of some works, for books on geology, botany and mineralogy are included here. But even after making due allowance for these inclusions the list is impressive and includes a surprising number of authors and works written before

1926 which are not found in B. Sánchez Alonso's Fuentes de la historia española e hispanoamericana (segunda edición, 1927). Much of this hitherto unlisted material is undoubtedly of limited appeal and value, but it is apparent that the collaborators have unearthed many items of value, especially in the field of Church history. Thus, while Sánchez Alonso lists eleven titles under Miguel Luis Amunátegui and twenty-eight under Barros Arana, the "Exposición retrospectiva de la enseñanza" credits these writers respectively with twenty-eight and thirty-six works on the history of Spanish America and Spain.

The compilers of this volume are to be commended for their laborious and painstaking efforts which have resulted in the publication of a bibliography of great interest and value for scholars in many fields, and need make no apologies for the few repetitions and omissions to which they call attention.

University of Washington.

WILLIAM E. WILSON.

Primera exposición circulante cubana. Guía económica del Caribe. (Habana: Sociedad Colombista Panamaricana, 1941. Pp. 309. Paper.)

As one consequence of the First Inter-American Convention of the Caribbean, the Cuban government organized in 1941 a traveling exposition of national products, which has made the circuit of thirty-five towns in the various republics and in dependencies of the United States. The main part of this volume is a guide to the exhibits of the firms and agencies which cooperated. It discloses the surprising range of Cuban industrial as well as agricultural products. Prefatory to the guide is a thoughtful article by Dr. Salvador Massip, entitled, "Geografía económica del Caribe. Perturbaciones producidas por la actual guerra mundial." Dr. Massip stresses similarities in geography, products, systems of exploitation and markets as between the Caribbean countries. He views the dislocations brought about by the war as accentuating trends, already discernible, toward a decline of commerce with Europe, an increase of commerce with North America, an intensification of trade between the Caribbean countries, and a slight increase (before Pearl Harbor) of trade with Japan. Massip offers a program looking toward the "economic independence" of the Caribbean area. Beneath the generalities in which this program is formulated, the principal concrete, practicable goal, so far as this book provides any clue, appears to be the expansion of foreign markets for Cuban industrial products.

LELAND H. JENKS.

South America with Mexico and Central America. By J. B. TREND. [The World Today Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 127. Cloth. 2s. 6d.)

A general reader who wants a panoramic view of Hispanic America today will do well to secure this pocket-size survey. It is interesting. It has ten pages of attractive illustrations, four maps, and an index.

The author's bias is in saying nice things about the Spanish and Portuguese Americans and the United States. Historians will differ as to the validity of all the generalizations, but there seems to be but one factual error (four Hispanic-American countries remained neutral in the World War, p. 107). A timely geographic interpretation is that the "Atlantic plateaux of the Guianas and Brazil" were once joined to Africa. The tone of the book is suggested by its final sentence: "The lesson of the Americas—their importance and meaning for a distracted Europe—is that a Utopia, a New Atlantis, a City of the Sun, can not only be discovered but can be made to come true."

WILLIAM H. GRAY.

The Pennsylvania State College.

Pan-American Dictionary and Travel Guide. By Lewis L. Sell. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. 2nd rev. ed. Pp. xvi, 678. \$2.50.)

This "pocket volume" of travel information was published "to reinforce from a new angle the great efforts now being made in many quarters toward encouraging the more rapid development of inter-American travel, touring, and commercial intercourse." It is definitely a superior composite of the Pan-American Union descriptive booklets, the South American Handbook, and that estimable publication of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, The Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America. A distinctive feature is the English-Spanish and Spanish-English dictionary section. The vocabulary is derived from the editor's manuscript dictionary "of the automobile, airplane, and radio"; from the critical suggestions of a litterateur, of a radio technician, and of a competent translator. The travel data were authoritative through the summer of 1941.

GUSTAVE A. NUERMBERGER.

Derecho internacional público. By Alberto Ulloa. [Volume one; second edition.] (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1938. Pp. 394. Paper. \$2.00.)

Señor Alberto Ulloa is Professor of Public International Law at the University of Lima, and this distinguished scholar and diplomat has given us a treatise on international law that is a valuable addition to the literature of the field. In this well-documented, substantial volume, Professor Ulloa discusses first the existence, character, and growth of international law, taking the position that it results from the necessity of balancing the world's economics and the world's morals. He denies the existence of sectional international law, such as a peculiarly American variety, and suggests that the rules governing nations apply universally. He gives a particularly interesting treatment of the sources and historical evolution of international law, with special attention to the effect upon it of the first World War.

In the second major division of the book the rights and duties of international persons are considered. The law of recognition is dealt with at length in a very valuable section. Then the author turns to the protection of humans under international law. Such matters as liberty of individual conscience and person, freedom of immigration and transit, and the protection of minorities and of citizens abroad are developed extensively.

In his last leading division, Professor Ulloa expands the principles of international law governing the acquisition of territory and the extension of sovereignty. The subjects of the law of the seas, territorial waters, gulfs, bays, lakes, closed and interior seas, international rivers, and international waterways such as the Panama Canal are all adequately presented. The book closes with a section on air law, and its obvious importance in the future.

One feature which is especially noteworthy in this methodical volume is the use of Latin-American illustrations in the discussions on many points of international law. This alone would justify the translation of the book in order that the European monopoly on such material might be broken. In this day of closer relations within the hemisphere, it is encouraging to all international lawyers to realize that the new world possesses such an eminent authority as this Peruvian publicist. He is making a real contribution through this and other writings.

NICHOLAS PENDLETON MITCHELL.

Las ciencias médicas en Guatemala. Origin y evolución. By Carlos Martínez Durán. (Guatemala: Tipografía Sánchez & de Guise, 1941. Illustrations. Pp. 439. \$5.00.)

Dr. Carlos Martínez Durán is a good example of the Latin-American professional men who are frequently carried along by their enthusiasms to become distinguished collectors, bibliographers, and historians. While engaged in the active practice of medicine and holding a chair in the University of Guatemala, he has found time to study sources when it is still possible to compile books from other books. If we except the presence of the energetic and highly competent archivist of Guatemala, Professor Joaquín Pardo, Dr. Martínez frequently sits alone at the tables of the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala.

In this book of five parts Dr. Martínez treats the medicine of the indigene, the conquest, the pre-university period (1541-1681), the university epoch (1681-1821), and the independence period (1821-1921). If Dr. Martínez had called this book "Medical Chronicle of Guatemala," the title would have been equally correct. The presentation tends to follow medical careers and the style is marked by short biographical paragraphs. The documents photographed have been so reduced as to render them illegible, although the other photographs are clear enough.

There is an enormous mass of material in this book, but one cannot escape the feeling that a great deal of it is uncritically used. For example, Dr. José Felipe Flores in 1782 published a tract called Específico nuevamente descubierto en el Reino de Guatemala para la curación radical del horrible mal del cancro. The remedy "discovered" by Dr. Flores, the newts of Amatitlán, according to Dr. Martínez, "poseía la maravillosa virtud de curar el cáncer." This "eficaz remedio," far from enjoying "el favor continental," was rejected in Europe after examination. That Flores' pamphlet was noticed and examined in Mexico, Italy, Germany, and France-in which places "Las curaciones obtenidas eran ya numerosas"-is more a commentary upon medical anarchy of the eighteenth century than a legitimate glory of Guatemalan medicine. If there is any room to believe that this cure was more than an empirical episode, Dr. Martínez could obtain a thousand times more prestige from demonstrating it than he could by writing history, however good.

Las ciencias médicas en Guatemala has the advantages as well as the disadvantages of being the work of an enthusiast. Enthusiasm has led the author to the documents. He shows evidence of having worked in the Archivo Colonial, Archivo General, the Biblioteca Nacional, and elsewhere. There is no reference to sources except such as can be gleaned from the internal evidence of the text. There is no index, but a table of contents labeled "Indice." If Dr. Martínez should issue another edition, he could very profitably add footnotes, a formal bibliography, and an analytical index. Withal Dr. Martínez Durán has given us an extensive history of Guatemalan medicine containing far more data on the subject than any yet published.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE LANDLESS ENCOMIENDA

A volume published in 1934—The Spanish Conquistadores, by the present writer—concludes with the following paragraph:

The encomienda was not a landed estate and had nothing to do with ownership of land: the encomendero was lord of a district or village or group of villages whose inhabitants owed to him the same services which otherwise would have been due to the crown; but he did not own the soil of his territorial fief; indeed in parts where a territorial grant was inconvenient, the encomienda consisted of an Indian chief and his tribe. After the conquest, from 1552 onwards, the crown attempted to reform the encomienda by forbidding the encomendero to exact any other service than the payment of the poll-tax.

When the present writer was preparing in 1905 a brief account of the encomienda—published two years later in the Cambridge Modern History (X, 245, 267)—mention of land or exclusion of land seemed needless; for the doctrine of the land-owning encomienda had not yet made way. Indeed that doctrine seems to be of recent origin—whence derived, it is hard to say.

Nor has that doctrine won general credence. There is no trace of the land-owning view in Amunátegui Solar, Las encomiendas de indígenas en Chile, nor in Zavala, La encomienda indiana; and Miss Irene Wright in her Early History of Cuba (1916) plainly states "The title to an encomienda did not carry with it any title to the land on which the 'commended' Indians lived and labored." Yet, in view of contrary opinions, the paragraph published in 1934 seemed necessary. Before writing it, the author had accumulated abundant evidence, for possible publication, in support of Miss Wright's clear statement and his own remark, "The encomienda was not a landed estate and had nothing to do with ownership of land." He has been forestalled—to much better effect—by Señor Silvio Zavala, whose article in Volume IV of Universidad (Mexico, September, 1937) conclusively proves, with admirable precision and from sources more fundamental than those available to the present writer, that "the title of an encomienda gave no right of land-ownership."

Zavala's proof is clear. But it may not be amiss to fortify his conclusion and give it wider currency by adding supplementary evidence. Some slight overlapping and some references to Zavala's article are unavoidable. But, in the main, this is additional evidence.

The *Política indiana* of Solórzano Pereyra, composed at royal command, comprises a body of law more consistent, more carefully thought out and hardly less authoritative than the later *Recopilación de leyes de Indias*.

Solórzano in his Third Book devotes 208 large folio pages (edition of 1736) to a minute and thorough analysis of the encomienda and the rights of the encomendero in all their legal and practical bearings. He uses the phrases "encomienda de indios, encomendar indios, indios encomendados" so often that reference is needless. encomendero is "la persona que tuviese indios; las personas que tienen indios encomendados" (Cap. XVII, 7 and 9); "tenedor de indios; poseedor de indios" (Cap. XVIII, 7, 9; Cap. XXI, 2; Cap. XXIV, 14); to inherit an encomienda is "suceder en los indios" (XXI, 2; XXII, 9; XXIV, 8); the ownership of an encomienda is "posesión v senorío de . . . indios" (XVIII, 8); "tener indios" (XX, 2); "posesión de indios" (XXX, 7, 8, 26); to grant an encomienda is "dar posesión de indios" (XXX, 8); to take away an encomienda is "quitar posesión de indios" (XXX, 8); "quitar indios" (XXX, 21): to surrender an encomienda is "dejar sus indios" (XVIII, 7). Still more significant is the phrase "los indios de que se componen estas encomiendas" (V, 1): a sentence which seems to decide the whole matter. In the phrase "una encomienda de 200 a 300 tributarios' (XII, 30) Solórzano computes the size of an encomienda by giving the number of Indians composing it. So also do other officials; for example a report of 1581 on Peruvian encomiendas, printed by Enrique Torres Saldamando in the appendix to Part II of his Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima (p. 114), gives the position of each encomienda, the number of Indians composing it and its total yield in poll-tax. If land-owning were included, there would surely be in this, and in many other documents, some mention of the extent and value of the land.

In the whole course of Solórzano's prolix and exact exposition of the encomienda, land is not once mentioned; but Book II, which deals with Indian labor, has an illuminating passage in Cap. XXIV, 39-41. Solórzano there declares that if an Indian village becomes uninhabited, "as often happened," owing to pestilence or the flight of the inhabitants, the encomendero of the village has no right to claim, by way of recompense for his loss, the lands which had been held in common by the village. During Solórzano's tenure of office as oidor in Lima (1610-1627), the Marqués de Oropesa brought a suit before the audencia claiming in such a case possession of the derelict lands. The Marquis did not claim that, as encomendero, he

had been already owner of the land. His claim was that, since his encomienda had vanished with the vanished Indians, he might equitably take possession of the abandoned lands. He lost his suit. The court held that the lands of the village had been the property of the Indian villagers¹ and the encomendero had no right to the land when it became vacant.

Zavala does not cite this Peruvian case; but he points out that the same rule was laid down for New Spain in 1546 in a royal order to the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, which was afterwards incorporated in the Laws of the Indies (lib. 6, tit. 1, ley 30) and was thus enjoined upon the whole empire. He also quotes a Guatemalan lawsuit of 1579, recorded by Dr. Lesley Byrd Simpson in Vol. XVII of this Review, as clear proof that the encomendero concerned, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, neither owned nor claimed the lands of his encomienda. These lands belonged to his indios encomendados.

Solórzano repeatedly declares that encomiendas, although not quite identical with Spanish feudal fiefs (feudos), may be closely compared to such fiefs, and the encomenderos to Spanish feudal lords (feudatarios—señores de vasallos) to whom the king has made a grant (merced) of a town or village. At last he boldly calls the encomienda a feudo and the encomendero a feudatario, declaring that the king, on granting an encomienda, may withdraw some Indians, assigning them to himself or to another person, just as, on granting a feudo in Spain, he can declare certain families to be exempt from duties to the feudatario (III, 27; VI, 3; VII, 46; X, 6; XII, 4; XIII, 12, 13; XVI, 8; XXV, 15; XXVI, 43; XXVIII, 26; XXX, 16; XXXII, 32, 55). The Spanish merced of a town or village conferred not ownership of land, but certain feudal rights, accompanied by certain feudal obligations due to the king and also to the vassals of the feudatario; and these passages indicate that the link between the encomendero and his encomienda was a personal link of dues and of duties.

In the Laws of the Indies (lib. VI, tît. VIII, IX, XI) as in Solórzano, the terms "encomienda de indios, indios encomendados, encomendar indios," recur. A vacant encomienda is "indios vacos" (tît. VIII, ley 32; XI, 15); to take away an encomienda is "quitar indios" (VIII, 12 and 45); to inherit an encomienda is "suceder en indios" (VIII, 32; XI, 2 and 16), an encomendero is "tenedor de indios [four times in XI, 2], poseedor de indios" (VIII, 32). Land

¹ When the pueblo encomendado was a reducción, that is to say a large village formed by forcibly uniting scattered Indian inhabitants or small hamlets, the land of the village was often a grant conferred on the Indian villagers by the crown.

is once mentioned, in a law of 1633 (IX, 17) which forbids an encomender to own a landed estate (estancia), either in his own name or through an intermediary, within the limits of the village (pueblo) of his encomienda, and orders that any such land should be taken from the encomender and sold.

Señor Zavala thinks that this law of 1633 abolishes a right, previously held by an encomendero, of owning land within the limits of his territorial encomienda. Zavala shows in his sixth footnote that the encomendero had that right in the early days. But it seems probable (if it be not temerity to say so) that the right had been abolished by law or legal custom before 1633 and that the law of 1633, like many others in the Recopilación, does not enact anything new, but denounces a particular abuse; in this case the evasion of law by using a fictitious name to conceal ownership of land by an encomendero on his encomienda. For an earlier law, dated 1618 (tit. IX, lev 11), forbids encomenderos to erect or possess, in the villages of their encomiendas, a house or hut or even a shed or barn; a condition impossible to impose on a landowner. Indeed land-owning on the encomienda is hardly compatible with the reiterated royal commands which, from the mid-sixteenth century, forbade an encomendero to live on his encomienda or to visit it except for the shortest time necessary for the collection of the poll-tax. The above-mentioned law of 1618 limits his sojourn on his encomienda to a single night, on pain of a fine of twenty pesos. It must be remembered that, since the encomendero was obliged to inhabit a stone house in the capital of the province, his encomienda might be far distant from his home and the return journey might be impossible on the same day.

A story told by Amunátegui Solar (I, 104) may illustrate the law of 1633. The famous conquistador Francisco de Aguirre held the encomienda of Copiapó in northern Chile. In 1561 the Indians of his encomienda desired to sell some lands in order to acquire cattle. At first it was proposed that they should give the lands to Aguirre in exchange for cattle; but it was finally decided that the land should be sold at auction. The purchaser was Aguirre's nephew, who transferred the land to his uncle's wife. Thus Aguirre became the owner, having purchased the land in one borrowed name and holding it in another borrowed name. How far the original desire of the Indians to exchange land for cattle was entirely spontaneous on their part is matter for conjecture. But evidently the sale was a mere form; in fact they ceded the land to the encomendero, who gave them cattle in exchange. Aguirre introduced the sugar-cane and brought his

newly acquired land under cultivation. He was then absent for some years as governor of Tucumán. In 1576 he returned to live on his land, situated within his encomienda of Copiapó. Quiroga, governor of Chile, ordered him to move, since various cedulas forbade an encomendero to live on his encomienda. Aguirre appealed to the Council of the Indies for permission to reside in his house upon his hacienda: "I conquered the valley of Copiapó," he pleaded, "I built houses and I made a sugar mill and vineyards and fields. . . . It is an injury to me if I may not reside on my hacienda de recreación y aprovechamiento." The result of his petition is not known. The old warrior was past eighty years of age, and probably did not live to see the result.

It may perhaps, in defense of the land owning view, be argued that Solorzano and the Laws of the Indies deal with the "new formation' (as Solórzano calls it) of the encomienda, that is to say the encomicada after the reforms which, by a succession of cedulas dating from 1552, abolished (at least in legal theory) the encomendero's right to exact labor from his Indian vassals, forbade him to live on his encomtends and allowed him only one right, to receive the polltax known as tributo from his indies tributaries or indies encomendados, subject to certain deductions for public services. successive cedulas forbidding the personal service, previously due to the encomendero, do not mention any deprivation of land. Solórzano, although he expounds mainly the reformed encomienda (which he defends as just), deals also briefly with the earlier history, giving reasons for the abolition of the former rights (which he condemns) and all this without mention of land. Most of the examples given by Zavala refer to the earlier and unreformed encomicada; and to these examples two may be added.

Las Casas, in the famous passage (Book III, Ch. 79) recounting the surrender of his encomienda, says (writing in the third person) that he determined "dejar sus indios" and that Velásquez, on hearing of that decision, dissuaded "dejación de sus indios." Las Casas, in the course of the narrative, mentions the position of his landed estate (hacienda) on which these Indians were employed. He probably abandoned the estate, which would be valueless without labor but evidently the hacienda was no part of the encomienda de indios. In 1541 Francisco Pizarro granted to his half brother, Martín de Alcántara, an encomienda of 3,000 Indians, and "since there was no one site where the 3,000 Indians could be allotted, they were assigned in three places: 600 in Jauja. 200 in Los Llanos within the limits of

Lima, and the remainder of the 3,000 in Guanuco." Clearly this was no grant of land in ownership.

Moreover the line cannot everywhere be rigidly drawn between the earlier and the reformed encomienda. For, as Sologzano laments, the reform was in many parts meffective. This was particularly so in Paraguay and in Chile, where the encomendere continued to exact labor from his Indians down to the eye of independence, with the consent of the authorities and even of the law which whimsically enough forbade "personal service," but permitted the encomendero to receive his poll tax in the form of labor. In Paraguay the protector of natives reported in 1780 the existence of 122 encomiendas. Forty eight of these were encomiendas de indies originaries, who were slaves, men and women able, from birth to death; these do not concorn the present argument. The remaining seventy four, numbering 1,714 Indians in all, were encomiendas de indios mitayos; these lived in villages, possessed lands of their own, and paid their poll tax to the encomenders in the form of two months' labor annually of all males from eighteen to fifty years of age a. Clearly the Paraguayan encomienda had nothing to do with land ownership; and the extent or value of the encommenda was computed, as always, in the number of indios encomendados. Azara, writing twenty years later, after long residence in Paraguay, confirms in the main this report.

In Chile the evidence is equally decisive. Of the many titles or grants of encomiendas published by Medina in his Documentos para la historia de Chile some may be quoted. They resemble the form used by Ovando and by Albuquerque in Española and afterwards by Cortés, Pivarro, Vaea de Castro, La Gasca, and Canete, as recorded by Zavala in his recent article and in his volume La encomienda indiana (pages 29.5-300). Hefore mid aixteenth century the titles usually contain the words "para que os sirvais de ellos." After that time or soon after that time these words are omitted. Pedro de Valdivia writes thus in 1554. "Deposito en vos.—Diego Velasco los principales llaundos Perinalongo, Tongui, Catalandi con todos sus indios principales y subjetos, que tienen su asiento en el valle de Mapocho... para que os sirvais de todos ellos." Two other titles of encomiendas mention

^{*} Hackness Collection Documents from Early Peru (Washington, 1936), pp. 164-156, and 981.

^{*} Lamas, Memorias y Documentos (Montevideo, 1849), p. 457.

^{&#}x27;Medina, Doc Chil XIV, 420. The inclusion of the words ''para que os sirvais'' indicates either that the prohibition of personal service had not yet been distinctly promulgated in Chile, or that it was disregarded. The emphatic royal restorations of the prohibition show wide spread disregard. So late as 1622

the "commended" Indians as having their asiento in the valley or province of Mapocho. Evidently the locality is vaguely given and does not imply any land-grant. One title (quoted in this REVIEW, VIII, 487) "commended" two caciques, "with their subject chiefs and Indians, 1,500 Indians who have their land and seat on this side the River Nivequeten; and if they have not the said number, you will complete it from the nearest Indians"; vague locality, and Indians added from elsewhere. Another title (Medina, Doc. Chil., XIII, 39) "commends" Indians "who have their tierras y asiento beyond the River Biobio, eight leagues from this city": 5 equally vague. No less than seven titles mention the Indians as living "en los Promocaes" or "en la provincia de Promocaes." In a law-suit of 1561 there appears an encomienda of three caciques with "indios y principales a ellos sujetos que tienen su asiento en el valle de Chile, los cuales tenían antes su tierra y asiento en Mapocho y fueron mudados para fundar la ciudad de Santiago."

The Chilean encomienda had some peculiar local features, and illustrates Solórzano's remark that there was such a thing as "municipal law" concerning encomiendas, that is to say variations of local custom, permitted by the various audiencias. An entire título of the Laws (lib. VI, tít. 16) deals with the Chilean Indians. The peculiarity in Chile was partly due to the constant acquisition of Indian captives in the Araucanian frontier war. Although many of these were kidnapped or bought from Indian chiefs, they were all regarded as captured rebels and therefore slaves by law. But the owners often preferred to establish these captives on their farms as indios encomendados. Even apart from this, the Chilean custom of transplating "commended" Indians and settling them on the encomendero's estancia is frequently mentioned. Clearly the estancia and the encomienda were distinct.

One title granted by Valdivia in 1552 demands explanation: "Encomiendo en vos el dicho Francisco Hernando Gallego la mitad del valle dicho de Lampa e con la mitad de los caciques e principales indios y sujetos del dicho valle, donde quiera que estén los dichos caciques . . . atento que yo los había mudado del valle de Chile." The wording here seems to imply that land was part of the encomienda. But a document of 1554 supplies the correction: in that year the

a cedula (Lib. VI, tít. 16, ley 1) forbids personal service in Chile and annuls any title or right to such service derived from commendation (encomienda) custom, prescription or protection, or from the fact that the encomendero had settled (poblada) his Indians on his chacras or estancias, or from other grounds which are named.

6 Probably Concepción.

cabildo of Santiago, which for a time after Valdivia's death acted as the government of Chile, "dieron e comendaron en Francisco Gallego, hijo de Francisco Gallego difunto, los indios que solían ser de su padre, que son en el valle de Lampa." The cabildo, as government, confirms to the son the encomienda of Indians which had been held by the father; but without any mention of land. Evidently the original title of 1552 was not worded with strict accuracy; the land was a gift from Valdivia; the Indians constituted the encomienda. The extreme rarity of such a phrase in a title deprives it of any legal significance.

Candor demands mention of one more title granted by Valdivia: "Deposito en vos, Antonio Tarabagano, el cacique llamado . . . que tiene su asiento y tierras en la provincia de los Poromocaes, con todos sus pueblos, tierras, términos, ríos y montes y valles y todo lo que poseen y les pertenece.' '6 The extravagant and almost ludicrous wording of this document is quite exceptional and by no means typical. It reads like the impatient reply to an importunate suitor. Again, one would not regard as typical Valdivia's grant to himself of 40,000 Indians inhabiting the region from Andalien to Arauco and Tucapel: a region almost equal to two Chilean provinces of today. Valdivia had his own humorous way of doing things; he tells us himself that, in order to induce men to settle in Serena, he granted to them imaginary Indians (indios que no nacieron), leaving these vecinos of Serena to find out that they were servantless on arrival at Serena. In any case there is abundant evidence that the encomienda in Chile did not include ownership of land.

In Chile, as elsewhere, an encomienda disappears when the Indians disappear. In 1656 there were 102 encomiendas of ten or more Indians in the jurisdiction of Santiago alone; those of fewer than ten are evidently omitted. A report by the treasury officials in 1749 shows fewer than fifty encomiendas in the whole bishopric (i.e., the whole kingdom) of Chile; many of these consisted of three Indians; few had more than twenty.⁸ Even after allowing for the "incorporation in the crown" of many encomiendas after the second or third life or upon the death of encomenderos without heirs, it is clear that many had been extinguished in the course of a century by disappearance of the Indians, since many of those which remained had almost dwindled away. When Ambrosio O'Higgins as Governor of Chile determined to suppress the fifty still existing encomiendas in 1790, his task was not difficult owing to their small value.⁹ It is the

^e Medina, Doc. Chil. XV, 217.

^{*} Amunategui, II, 77, 236.

⁷ Amunátegui, II, 127.

⁹ Ibid., II, 252.

same story elsewhere. In 1634 it was reported in the cabildo of Buenos Aires that encomiendas formerly consisting of 100 Indians were now reduced to four or to none at all. Thirty-two years later a vecino encomendero of Buenos Aires asks that an encomienda of three Indians may be granted to him to till his land, since the encomienda of three Pampas Indians, previously granted to him, had proved useless.¹⁰

Gaspar Escalona (Gazophilacium, I, 95) writes in 1647 that the King's encomiendas in Peru were emptied "through the desertion, absence, pestilence or death of the Indians, who are pursued by a dire fate." Decrease on the encomiendas of vecinos was certainly not less. Escalona adds (II, 207) that many Indians have fled from the encomiendas to become yanaconas in cities. Castelfuerte, Viceroy of Peru (1724-1736), reports that the encomiendas are in decay and are being gradually incorporated in the crown; that is to say are being extinguished. Extinction of the remaining encomiendas—much diminished in value owing to the diminution of the Indians composing them -was general in the eighteenth century. Humboldt in his Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain writes (I, 183 [English translation]), "In the eighteenth century . . . the encomiendas, considered as fiefs, were not redistributed. King Charles III . . . annulled the encomiendas." Thus before the close of the Spanish period the encomienda in New Spain was an extinct institution, the object, just as it is today, of historical investigation into the past.

It remains to substantiate the remark that "where a territorial grant was inconvenient, the encomienda consisted of an Indian chief and his tribe." The earliest titles, those of the Antilles, are not territorial; they name a chief and a group (perhaps group rather than tribe) of Indians. It has been seen that the Chilean titles were tribal, vaguely indicating rather than strictly defining territory. But the most notable example is the Acta de Fundación of Buenos Aires in 1580, published by Pedro de Angelis and also in Garay, Documentos (Buenos Aires, 1915). Juan de Garay, the founder, assigned to each of his sixty companions a building site within the city, a plot of land for cultivation, a strip of pasture land running down to the river, and, lastly, an encomienda consisting of an Indian chief and his tribe. The four grants were distinct; it could not be otherwise, for most of the neighboring Indians were nomads or semi-nomads.

¹⁰ Acuerdos del extinguido cabildo de Buenos Aires, 12 serie; VII, 431; XII, 303.

Note

The above paper supplies evidence, additional to that adduced by Zavala.* of the landless encomienda. Illustrations, apart from direct evidence, might be multiplied. One illustration of peculiar interest may here be mentioned. The municipality of Mexico held in encomienda the Indian village of Iztapalapa. The Actas del Cabildo de México contain many references to the administration of this encomienda. In the early years the supply of Indios encomendados as laborers for the public works of the city is mentioned, in later years the collection of the poll-tax (tributo) for the benefit of the city funds and the salary paid from these funds to the priest maintained in the village of Iztapalapa by the municipality of Mexico in its character of encomendero. But the first nine volumes of the Actas (1524-1590), the only volumes accessible to the present writer, do not mention any ownership or administration of land in connection with the encomienda. An investigator having access to the whole series of seventy-five volumes could probably trace an episodical history of the encomienda of Iztapalapa throughout its whole life.

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Dublin, Eire.

*The writer of the foregoing much regrets that, when the article was completed and offered for publication, he had no knowledge of Señor Zavala's more recent work, entitled De encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América Española (1940), which was reviewed in Volume XX, No. 4, pp. 575-577, of this Review. A word of apology is due to both Señor Zavala and to the readers of The Hispanic American Historical Review.—F. A. K. (Mr. Kirkpatrick withdrew this note from publication when Señor Zavala's works on the encomienda began to appear. Señor Zavala, who has seen the note, recommends its publication and the managing editor takes full responsibility for bringing it out in its present form.)

UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA

Many with a general knowledge of the Hispanic American field will recall that the narrative of the perilous journey of the Spanish explorer, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, was the first account of the interior of the continent north of Mexico, but few know that the only perfect copy of the first edition of this fabulous story, published in 1542 at Zamora, Spain, is in the New York Public Library, and that one of the other two known copies is in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University. Nor is it generally known that also in the New York Public Library is a copy of one of the first reports of the De Soto expedition, published in 1557 at Evora, Portugal.

Rare Spanish Florida materials such as the de Vaca and the De Soto narratives are so widely and so surprisingly scattered that researchers on Spanish Florida are usually bewildered and invariably delayed for want of ready and exact answers to the questions, What material is there on Florida? and Where is it?

Librarians, historians, and others interested in the only partly explored Florida field are endeavoring to aid investigators through the development of a Union Catalog of Floridiana, a coöperative project established in 1937 under the trusteeship of Rollins College which is centrally located in Florida at Winter Park. The purpose of the Catalog is twofold: To list materials relating to Florida by author, title, and subjects, and thus provide a comprehensive and readily usable index; and to indicate by means of symbols the location of these materials. Descriptive and critical annotations are entered as time permits.

When it is recalled that in the sixteenth century the rather loosely defined territorial designation known as "La Florida" reached from Chesapeake Bay to Texas, it will be realized that the literature of Spanish Florida relates to a large part of what is now the United States and hence includes much of the early history of this country. That literature was written originally in at least eight languages: Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, German, and Italian.

Now that the dangers of European economic and military aggression have given a common denominator to the interests of all nations in the Western Hemisphere, a Spanish heritage and the bonds of nature link Florida more closely to Hispanic America. In recognition

of these ties emphasis is being placed on those listings which will hasten the preparation for publication of a bibliography of Florida. Such a bibliography was conceived by the late James Alexander Robertson who, over a long period of years, collected voluminous notes. A committee of the Florida Historical Society composed of some of Dr. Robertson's co-workers has been at work since his death organizing and enlarging these data, but with inadequate financial support. When completed, this aid to scholarship will give abundant evidence of the early and continuous connection of Florida with the remainder of colonial Hispanic America—a connection which has now recurred and must grow closer in the future.

"Floridiana" includes here all records, published and unpublished, treating of the geographic division recognized at any time as Florida, such as (1) printed books, pamphlets, reports, public and private records and documents; (2) newspapers and periodicals published within the state, and newspaper and other periodical articles about Florida published elsewhere; (3) diaries, letters, and other manuscripts; (4) maps and charts; (5) pictures, photographs, and other likenesses, motion picture films and microfilms; and (6) relics, memorabilia, and other rariora.

The Catalog is maintained and developed by contributions of listings and other services from librarians and historians and by funds from public-spirited laymen, as a specific service to the state of Florida and for the general advancement of scholarship. Its work is under the direction of an editor, Della F. Northey, and an advisory council composed of A. J. Hanna, professor of history in Rollins College, chairman; Julien C. Yonge, editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly; Watt Marchman, librarian of the Florida Historical Society and Seymour Robb of the Library of Congress.

A. J. HANNA.

Rollins College.

CUBAN HISTORICAL CONGRESS

Under the auspices of the Sociedad Cubana de Estudios Históricos c Internacionales the First National Congress of History was held in Havana, Cuba, October 8-12, 1942. The Congress was under the direction of a committee appointed by the organizing Society.

The Congress was planned in three sections: (1) General history; (2) history of America; (3) history of Cuba. The presidents of these sessions were in order: Gustavo Du Bouchet, Herminio Portell Vilá, and Emeterio S. Santovenia. The president of the entire

Congress, Dr. Fernando Ortiz, admirably filled the requirements of the rules and regulations that the chairman should be both a scholar and a man of moral and civic prestige. The general secretary, Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, is also the historian of Havana whose office coöperated with that of the Sociedad Cubana de Estudios Históricos e Internacionales in promoting the Congress.

THE CORTÉS SOCIETY

The undersigned propose to resuscitate the Cortés Society, dormant since 1924. During its existence from 1917, five translations from the Spanish and Portuguese were published, seven volumes in all. The Society consisted of Marshall H. Saville and a number of subscribers. No organization existed; Mr. Saville was editor and financial backer of the enterprise. He even translated the first publication, the so-called Anonymous Conqueror's account of Mexico City. The second publication was Pedro Sancho's account of the conquest of Peru, edited by Philip Ainsworth Means, the fourth, Pedro Pizarro's account of the conquest of Peru, also translated by Mr. Means, and the fifth, John B. Stetson's translation of the history of Brazil, by Pero de Magalhães. Finally, in 1924 Number Three appeared, the account of the conquest of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado, edited by Sedley J. Mackie.

In 1921, Mr. Saville issued a memorandum stating that the Society was organized late in 1917, with offices in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York. The intention at this time was to issue as Number Three the itinerary of Grijalva, translated by Mr. Saville himself. However, this was never done, its place having been taken by Alvarado's account of the conquest of Guatemala. For future production the circular lists the accounts of the conquest of Mexico by Andrés de Tapia and Fr. Francisco de Aguilar, Miguel de Estete's history of the conquest of Peru, and the Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru by Arriaga. The plan to translate and edit Oviedo's massive Historia General in full was also announced.

The first volume now to be published will be The Discovery of Yucatan by Francisco Hernández de Córdoba in 1517, with an Introduction and Notes by Henry R. Wagner. The book will comprise translations of all the known contemporary accounts, illustrated with several maps.

The second volume will be entitled The Discovery of New Spain by Juan de Grijalva in 1518, also with an Introduction and Notes by Henry R. Wagner. Like the first, it will comprise translations of all the known contemporary accounts, none of which, except those of Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Peter Martyr, has ever been translated hitherto.

Volume I will contain about one hundred pages and Volume II about three hundred pages and eight illustrations.

We propose to operate the Society on something like the plan of the Quivira Society. Anyone may become a member by purchasing one of the books. If he continues his membership by purchasing subsequent books, as published, a discount of twenty percent will be allowed. The headquarters of the Society in the future will be the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and all communications should be addressed to that institution.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY
THOMAS WINTHROP STREETER
HENRY RAUP WAGNER

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF IBERO-AMERICAN LITERATURE

Under the patronage of Tulane University the Third Congress of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature will hold its sessions in the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, December 21 to 24. The members of the Institute and the delegates have the right to contribute a work which will be published either in the *Memoria del Tercer Congreso* or in the *Revista Iberoamericana*. Nineteen delegates of honor will present as many papers. Among these are Germán Arciniegas, Jorge Basadre, Federico de Onís, Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Henry Seidel Canby, and Archibald MacLeish. Communications regarding this Institute should be addressed to Professor John E. Englekirk, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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